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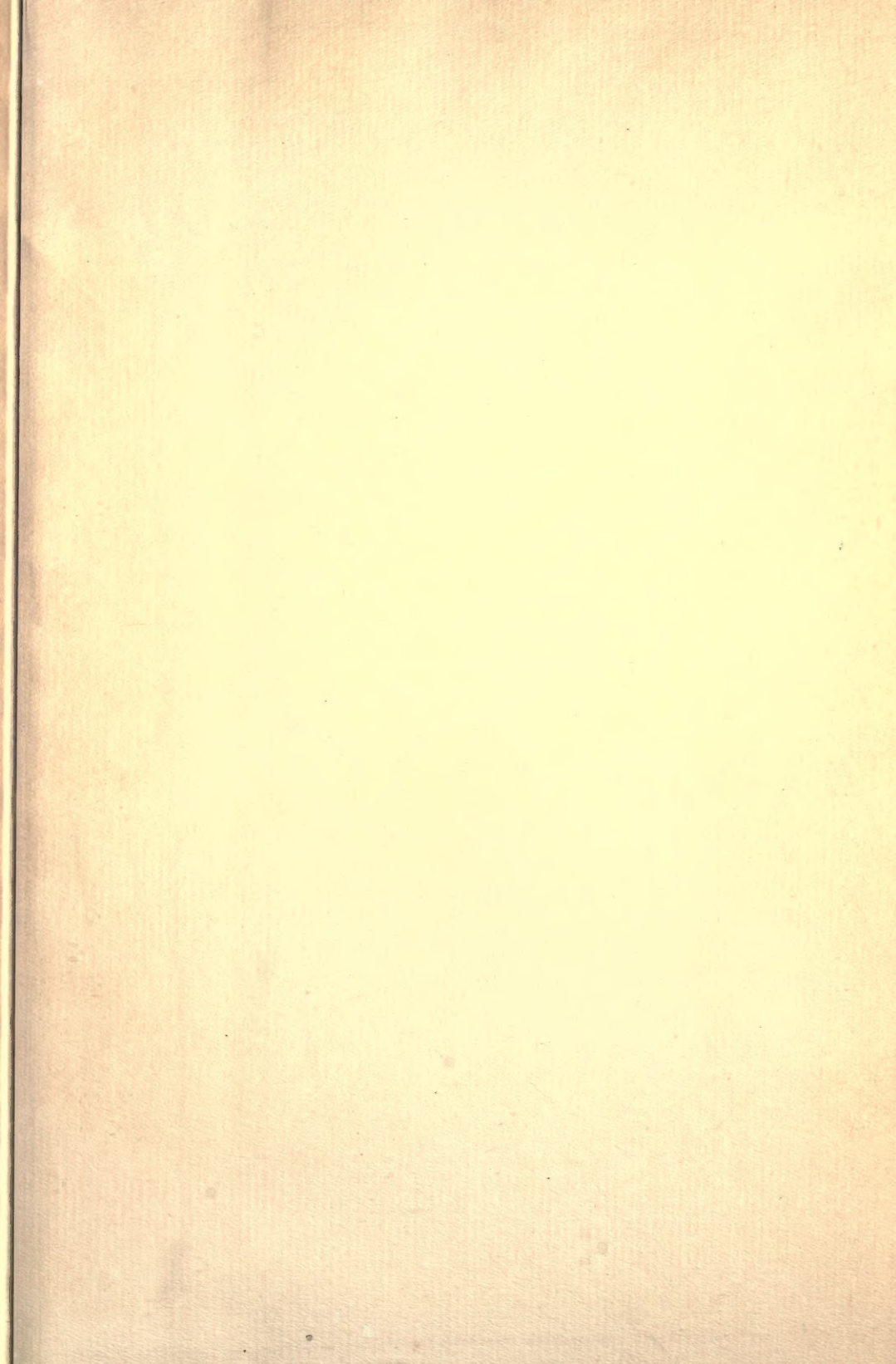
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THE
LIFE OF SIR JOHN LEAKE
KT., ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET, ETC.

BOOK II—*continued*

CHAPTER XII¹

Sir John receives advice from King Charles of his immediate danger in Barcelona, being blocked up by sea and land. He concert the means for his relief. Proceeds thither. The French fleet retires; and he relieves the place at the last extremity.

UPON Sir John's arrival with the fleet in Gibraltar Bay, he detached the Leopard to cruise to the eastward of that place, and gave immediate orders for the fleet to water; as well to supply their present occasion, as to be ready to sail the first opportunity. The principal concern he had at this time was for the safety of Barcelona, whereon that of His Catholic Majesty depended; it being to be feared the enemy might have a stronger squadron before that place than he should be able to make for their relief. For by the intelligence he had

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 29th March to 30th April, 1706.

received, Count Toulouse sailed from Toulon for Barcelona, with a squadron and some land-forces, with a design, as it was apprehended, to besiege the place; and the squadron, when joined by some others at sea, would make 34 sail of great ships. But he had yet hopes the storm was not so bad as it threatened, not having heard from the Earl of Peterborough since he left Barcelona, and was confirmed in this hope the 22nd instant, when he received an order from his lordship, of the 10th of March, O.S., directing him to repair with the fleet as near to Vinaroz¹ or Alfraques as he could, to disembark the men and money; his Lordship being in Valencia at the head of a good body of troops, and in very favourable circumstances, if joined by a fresh body of men, to march to Madrid; and there being a French squadron of twenty sail in Barcelona Road, the great ships might proceed thither to surprise them in the night. But by another order of the same date (which in other respects is a duplicate of the former) he was to land the forces at Denia or Altea, if he thought it dangerous at the former places. By these orders it appears his Lordship little considered, or knew, the circumstances of the Confederate fleet, or that of the enemy, and never dreamed of Barcelona's being besieged.

The 3rd of April the Grafton came in from cruising and in the afternoon, the Somerset, Royal Oak and Ipswich arrived with their convoys from England, but last from Lisbon; and likewise seven sail of Dutch men-of-war. By these ships Sir John received some letters of advice and orders. By the orders he was

¹ Near the mouth of the Ebro.

required to consider at a council of war of the most speedy and safe method for sending the troops to Catalonia ; and by the letters of advice he was informed that there were thirty ships of the line at Toulon (thirteen from 80 to 100 guns) besides five frigates and twelve galleys ; and that eighteen ships would be fitted in West France to join them ; so that Barcelona was threatened with a terrible storm by sea and land.

Besides this, he had much later advice, by the master of a settee who came in ten days from Alicante, that he was told by the master of a tartan, who came in four days from Barcelona with letters from the French consul, that there were before Barcelona, when he came away, between thirty-five and forty French men-of-war ; eight of them three-decked ships, and the least of 36 guns ; that the Lord Peterborough was gone from Valencia to Arzilla, and that the enemy had some forces before Gerona, but none before Barcelona. Upon these advices and orders, Sir John held a council of war the next morning ; wherein it was their unanimous opinion that the enemy's squadron before Barcelona, by all accounts, was much superior to that with him. And his Excellency the Earl of Peterborough having earnestly desired that he may¹ be reinforced as speedily as possible, it was resolved that six English ships of the line and two frigates, and three Dutch and one frigate, with two transports to carry the baggage, all of them the best sailers, should be sent to Altea or Denia (with the forces on board them that lately arrived from Plymouth) or where they

¹ Might.

could be landed with most conveniency ; and after having landed them, or found the same impracticable, to¹ make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, hoping by the time they should return, the convoy expected from Ireland would be arrived, and that they might be so far reinforced as to be able to go to Barcelona. The following day he received advice by a letter from Mr. Methuen that the Irish convoy, by the last accounts from England, were embarking the 15th of March, and were ordered to come away with the two men-of-war, and not to expect² the other three ; and from Portsmouth (the 18th) that Sir George Byng was perfectly ready to sail with his squadron, and waited only for a wind, which the captain of the packet assured him was northerly in the Channel ever since the 24th ; so that, the wind having been at Lisbon for four or five days northerly (a very fresh gale) he³ thought they might reasonably expect both one and the other there in a day or two, and he would endeavour to prevent their staying at all there. 'My Lord Peterborough's order,' says he, 'of which you favoured me with a copy, seems to give one hopes that you will find things in a tolerable condition in Catalonia, and so indeed I believe they are, especially in Valencia, where my lord is. But I must confess, I tremble to think how our forces are divided, and far distant from Barcelona ; so that the King of Spain seems to be exposed there to great danger. And we hear from all hands that the orders from France are to besiege Barcelona, notwithstanding all the Generals of the Duke of Anjou are of another opinion.'

¹ Should.² Wait for.³ Mr. Methuen.

The advice which this letter brought of the Irish convoy, and a reinforcement from England, gave Sir John great satisfaction, in hopes they might arrive timely to enable him to drive the enemy from before Barcelona; but he was something dubious concerning the condition of that place, having received no certain account from thence. But that very day, by a tartan in ten days from Barcelona, but last from Valencia, and the next morning by the Mary Galley from Denia, he received the following letters from His Catholic Majesty and Prince Lichtenstein.

BARCELONA, *March 26, 1706.*

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—Whereas the enemy are on both sides my principality of Catalonia, and my city Barcelona is likely to be besieged by land, having been blocked up by sea this seven weeks past, I am willing to let you know the state of my affairs; and to tell you my desire is that you come to this place with all possible diligence (and without any delay) with the ships, troops, and money, which the Queen your mistress has designed for my service, and the relief of Catalonia. I rely on your zeal and diligence for my royal service, and that of the common cause, that you will make all the dispatch possible to bring me the said succours, on which depends chiefly our preservation, and the security of my person. In the meantime I assure you of my royal esteem and friendship, which I have always had for your merits.

CHARLES.

Accompanying this letter from His Majesty, was another from the Prince de Lichtenstein, as follows.

SIR,—His Majesty the King, my master, finds at this conjuncture the principality attacked on both sides by the enemy's considerable armies, one whereof is under the command of the Duke of Anjou, and the other of the Duke de Noailles, and the city of Barcelona like to be besieged. You may easily judge of the great necessity

there is to assist us speedily with the squadron, troops and money, which the Queen, your mistress, has designed towards the security of Catalonia. I hope these will find you within the Straits, nay, even on the coast of the kingdom of Valencia ; and what confirms me in this hope is that the enemy's eighteen men-of-war that have blocked up the city for this seven weeks, are sailed. But we know not whether they will return hither again or go to Toulon. 'Tis wished you could have the same success on these ships, as you had last year with those of Malaga. All the advices we have of the enemy's designs and motions agree, that they resolve to leave the towns of Lerida and Gerona behind them, and to march with all their forces directly for Barcelona ; which place, in the condition it is in at present, is able to make but a very weak defence, having no regular troops, and only guarded by its inhabitants ; and the fort of Montjuich is found in the same condition as when it was taken ; the city being also without stores, provisions and money. I well know His Majesty is confident of your zeal and application for his royal service and the common cause ; and that you will use all possible diligence to come hither with the troops that are to be landed without any delay or hindrance ; without which the city, and all the principality of Catalonia, which depends upon its preservation, will run the risk of being lost, with as much ease, and in as little time, as the glorious arms of the Queen your mistress, joined with those of the Lords the States General, conquered it. Besides, the sacred person of His Majesty will be exposed to inevitable dangers. Waiting the honour of saluting you in a very short time,

I am, &c.,

PRINCE DE LICHTENSTEIN.

P.S. Eight of the enemy's ships have weighed and anchored again nearer the city, which makes me more pressing that you will come speedily with your squadron and forces.

The design of the enemy, as it was generally believed, was to open the campaign with the

siege of Valencia by the Duke of Anjou ; whilst the Duke of Noailles, who had entered Catalonia with about 8000 men, was to attack Gerona, that they might afterwards with more ease unite their forces and lay siege to Barcelona. But if this was a real project, the same it seems was laid aside, and the enemy had fixed their eye wholly upon this last city, by reason King Charles was there. And being in honour obliged to continue there, the reducing it would, at one blow, decide the competition about the monarchy of Spain. And having a staunch party in the city, that gave them secret intelligence and had informed them of the ill condition of the fortification, they¹ thought there would be no great difficulties in the enterprise, especially if it was carried on at the same time both by sea and land. To amuse the Court of Barcelona, they made a feint, as if they would fall upon Lerida, Gerona or some other place ; whereby they drew almost all the Confederate forces, engineers and ammunition to the frontiers ; the English Guards, those of His Majesty's person and Watergate only excepted. Indeed, these measures were so well concerted, that had they taken effect, Barcelona must have been lost and the King taken prisoner. But in the critical minute, Providence interposed, and by a storm dispersed the troops and fleet for a whole month ; which gave the Confederate fleet that happy opportunity to come in time to relieve it. But notwithstanding this disappointment, they persevered in their first design, and as soon as the fleet was ready, they sailed thither ; and the 1st of April, N.S., twelve

¹ The French.

men-of-war of Count Toulouse's squadron appeared before Barcelona. And soon after, the enemy invested the city by land.

So surprising an approach of the enemy very much dashed the city, and especially the court, so that His Majesty was over-persuaded to make his escape. Yet when the hour came, he altered his mind and determined to continue in the town. By which heroic resolution he was the main instrument of its preservation. This was the condition of the King in Barcelona, the 2nd of April, N.S., when the enemy invested the city, and having secured all the passes, put an end to all hope of deliverance by land: so that there remained no possibility of relief but by the sea.

Nevertheless, Sir John received a letter from the Earl of Peterborough, dated but three days before the place was invested, viz. the 19th of March, O.S., enclosing an order of the day before for landing the troops, &c., without any variation from the order of the 10th instant. 'The fate of Spain,' says he, 'depending upon the support of that kingdom (of Valencia), it is highly necessary that all ships or fleets stop at Altea, it being every way proper, since any forces sent towards Barcelona in the present circumstances are sent so far out of the way.' 'Tis plain his Lordship was under no apprehensions for Barcelona, the 19th of March, when he wrote this letter, but thought that all depended upon landing the forces at Altea, and supporting the kingdom of Valencia; for which reason (as he continues in the same letter) he kept barks out at sea, with orders to all admirals and commanders of squadrons to make the best of their way to Altea. But, indeed, after they had disembarked the troops, money

and ammunition there, the order gave them leave to go and surprise the French squadron of twenty men-of-war by night, that lay in Barcelona Road, if they could. It is indeed very extraordinary that the enemy should keep their army so long incognito from his Lordship, especially if (as his own writer says¹) he had the best intelligence that any general ever had: and that King Charles likewise should be so far wanting to himself, as not to send my Lord an account of the enemy's motions, when the communication was free, but keep him in so profound an ignorance, even till the Duke of Anjou was at the very gates of Barcelona. However that might be with respect to his Lordship, it was not so with Sir John, to whom His Catholic Majesty was pleased to communicate the circumstances he was in at Barcelona; first, when the city was blocked up by the enemy's fleet; and now by a second letter, upon the approach of their army; which though dated but the day after the Lord Peterborough's, shows Barcelona in as different a light as possible from what his Lordship's letter and order suggest. His Majesty's letter was as follows.

I THE KING.

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—I am disposed to take upon me this occasion to advise you the high risk this principality and my Royal person is found in; for I make no doubt, ere the morrow, the enemy will molest us. They have already blocked me up with a squadron; and their army is now almost in sight of this city, and by their quick marches have gained some posts, which if they might

¹ Dr. John Freind, *Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain* (London: 1707).

have been prevented, would very much have hindered their designs. I am resolved, although I find myself with such a small garrison (as 1000 men of regular troops and 400 horse), not to leave this place. For in the present conjuncture I have considered that my going hence will be the loss of this city, and consequently of all the other places, which the happy success of the last campaign hath reduced to my obedience. For which reason it is my opinion to risk all, and venture the casualties which a siege is incident to ; putting just trust and confidence in your known zeal towards the great forwarding the common cause ; making no doubt how much you have contributed towards the succour's forwardness. I hope in a few days you will appear before this place, where your known valour and activity may meet with a glorious success. For which I shall again constitute you the credit of my royal gratitude. Given in Barcelona, the 31st of March, 1706.

I the King,
By command of the King my Master,
HENRY DE GUNTER.

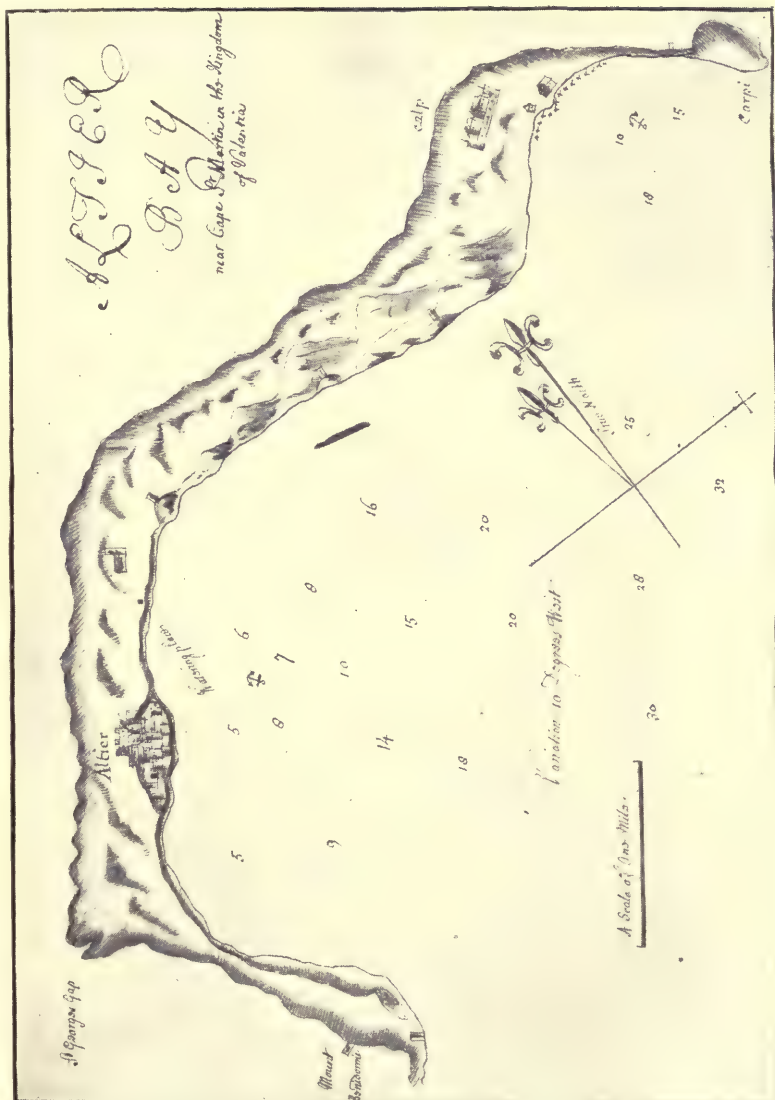
Upon the receipt of this letter Sir John called a council of war the 6th of April to consider of the speediest and most effectual way for the relieving of Barcelona ; and they came to a resolution that the whole fleet should proceed to Altea ; and if they got certain intelligence that the enemy had no greater strength than twenty-seven sail before the place (about the number he had with him), to proceed thither and give them battle (for to have attacked them with less than an equal force would have been running too great a hazard in the critical circumstances of Barcelona). And, that they might be the better able to engage the French or throw succours into the town, it was further resolved to take the soldiers that were with them on board the men-of-war, and send the transports back

to Lisbon ; leaving orders at Gibraltar for the convoy expected from Ireland, if they should arrive in fifteen days after the fleet was sailed, to proceed after them to Altea, otherwise to remain there till further orders. Upon these resolutions, the Tiger was detached to call in the cruisers which joined him the next day ; and the 9th, he ordered the Mary Galley and Newport, with some convoys and letters, the former to Lisbon, and the latter to England.

In the meantime the wind continuing easterly, which was directly contrary, it was taken into consideration at a council of war, the 11th instant, whether it were advisable to put to sea with such a wind, and it was resolved not, for the following reasons. First, that several of the English and Dutch ships were very foul, that they could not expect to get anything by plying to windward, but might split their sails and receive other damages, which usually happen in such cases. Second, that they might gain intelligence by lying there, which might be of consequence, both from Catalonia and Lisbon ; which they could not so reasonably expect when they were at sea. Third, if the squadron from West France was not gone already into the Mediterranean, and joined with those of East France, their lying there would prevent their junction. But it was resolved that, as soon as there was a prospect of a westerly wind or northerly wind, they would proceed to sea without a moment's loss of time, according to their resolutions of the 6th instant. And the Roebuck, Grafton and Ipswich, were detached to cruise to the eastward. But the 13th, the wind came about to the W.N.W., upon which Sir John immediately sailed from Gibraltar, about two in the morning, sending

the Pembroke, Tiger, Leopard and a Dutch man-of-war, with orders to proceed before the fleet to Altea or Denia, to gain intelligence of the strength of the enemy before Barcelona. Two days after, a Dutch merchant ship came into the fleet in six days from Lisbon, bringing the agreeable news that the convoy with the Irish forces, consisting of six men-of-war, and about thirty transports, sailed from Lisbon the day before him.

The 18th in the morning, Sir John got the length of Altea, and in the afternoon was joined by the Pembroke and Leopard. But they brought him no other advice than what he had received before, except one letter from the Earl of Peterborough, of eleven days date, viz. the 7th of April, O.S., wherein his Lordship represents the particular misfortune, that the King of Spain had never attended to the advice of the Queen's ministers, or his, but had been governed by those fatal ministers he had about him; whereby he had been prevented [in] all that he was able to do for him, with successes almost miraculous; and a sure game made almost desperate by a repetition of such unheard-of follies, as no history could produce. Having paid this deference to his own judgment and actions, he goes on, 'The King is persuaded,' says he, 'by the same advice to send positive orders, or what is very like them, to yourself and Admiral Wassenaer. I send you a copy of my commission, which some circumstances make me conceive necessary you should look over. The contents of one order they were pleased to communicate to me, but this last is a secret.' The first being an order to bring immediately to Barcelona the fleet, the forces, and the money designed for the use of the King



"A DRAUGHT OF ALTEA BAY."

[From the Author's MS.]

of Spain, I presume this last may be a repetition of the same with more earnestness. That¹ having secured the kingdom of Valencia, and being in person there with a good body of troops; he had sent several orders by boats and ships, to signify his desire that the troops and all things relating to the land service might be landed at Altea or Denia; or if safe, the weather settled and fair, at the Grove near Valencia: and had likewise sent orders to Lieutenant-General Wyndham, to land them accordingly. 'These orders,' says he, 'were previous in time to those you may perhaps receive from his Majesty, which I fear are the produce of land-admirals.'

By this letter, it seems, his Lordship's eyes were now opened, and the news had surprised him. He talks of the relief of Barcelona, as a matter desperate, and it's possible might wish he had stayed in Catalonia to secure that principality, rather than have endeavoured such a distant conquest with so small a body of harassed troops. 'Tis certain he could not but remember the ill condition he left the fortifications of Barcelona in, and that his expedition to Valencia, had (as his own author says²) 'been undertaken contrary, at least, to the opinion of great part of the General Officers.' But whatever His Catholic Majesty's opinion was, his Lordship still continued of opinion that all the forces, &c. should be landed at Denia, Altea, or the Grove of Valencia; and to justify his own conduct, very freely condemns that of the King and his ministers. What his Lordship mentions in relation to his commission, which some circum-

¹ Supply 'The Earl continued to say.'

² *Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain.*

stances made necessary Sir John should look over, was to see whether his Lordship was thereby fully invested with the command of the fleet in the manner he took upon him, which certainly he was not ; but this will be discussed hereafter.

Together with my Lord Peterborough's letter of the 7th of April, above-mentioned, I shall insert another of Prince Lichtenstein's, which seems to have been sent to Sir John in the same packet.

SIR,—Fearing the letter His Catholic Majesty sent you some days since came not to your hands, he ordered me to send you a copy thereof, and to advertise you of the great danger he finds the city of Barcelona and his royal person to be in ; the enemy, about 14,000 in number, not being above three or four leagues distant from hence, on a direct march to besiege the city ; before which there appeared, the day before yesterday, about fifty tartans and small vessels, to join seventeen men-of-war which are here at anchor ; which being added to those already on the coast will make twenty-five sail for ¹ the line. We are impatiently expecting you here, which will be the only means to secure the city, and His Majesty's sacred person from the dangers he is now in. The passes being all cut off, we can expect no relief any other way. *I beg of you in the name of God, to come to our relief as soon as possible*, with what ships and troops you at this instant have at hand. The danger of losing Catalonia, and the preservation of His Majesty's person, which is of so great consequence to all Christendom, will not admit of any further delays in expectation of the Irish forces which are designed for Lisbon, and may follow your squadron without any manner of danger. His Majesty salutes you very heartily, and assures you, he will not forget your diligence ; and I hope in a short time to have the honour of seeing you.

I am very sincerely, your affectionate, &c.

LE PRINCE DE LICHTENSTEIN.

¹ Of.

About the same time he received a letter, signed 'El Conde del Fuentes Alferes, Mayor de Castillo,' to the same purport with that of the Prince de Lichtenstein.

Upon this letter, a council of war was held on board the *Ranelagh* the same day off of *Altea*, to determine whether to stay till the Irish convoy joined the fleet, the wind being then westerly. When, considering they had proceeded as far as that place pursuant to their resolution of the 6th instant, and had received no other intelligence of the enemy's strength before *Barcelona* of a later date than the 7th instant; and being certainly informed by a Dutch runner (as before-mentioned) that the forces from Ireland under the convoy of six men-of-war, sailed from *Lisbon* the day before him, in order to join the fleet; it was resolved and agreed to cruise there till the next day at noon, in expectation of being joined by the said convoy; which would give an opportunity, without loss of time, to four frigates to go to *Vinaroz* to gain intelligence, and meet the fleet off of that place; leaving a frigate, where they then were, with orders for the convoy with the forces to follow, if they should not join the fleet in the time limited; but if they did join them, then to dispose of them according to the advices they should receive, and the determination of a council of war thereupon. Thus very providentially, the council of war were not of opinion to follow his Lordship's advice, which if they had, in all probability *Barcelona* had been lost. That night about midnight, Brigadier Gorges from *Valencia* came on board the *Ranelagh*, bringing Sir John a letter from the Earl of Peterborough, who had marched with part of the forces under his command, and

miquelets, towards the mountains near Barcelona, from whence he wrote it. In this letter, after complaining of the uncertainty of sea affairs, and that the reinforcement of ships from England were not arrived, 'I still continue,' says he, 'to think that the men-of-war should get rid of the transport ships, and all encumbrance before they come near the enemy; it being uncertain how their numbers may increase every day; so that a descent at Vinaroz, a little beyond Peñiscola, or at Tortosa to choose,¹ or at least no nearer than Tarragona, is what I have advised already, and continue in the same mind. The only alteration I propose since my last letter, considering the circumstances of Barcelona, is, that about 1000 men should be received on board the men-of-war, in order to be flung into Barcelona by sea, if it be requisite.' It is observable in this letter, we find his Lordship still of opinion to land the forces no nearer than Tarragona, and seemed to prefer Tortosa, except 1000 men to be put on board the men-of-war. But that part of his advice was needless, Sir John having disposed of them in that manner before.

During this time the city held out to a miracle. The enemy numerous and indefatigable, pressed them hard; and, though the garrison made several successful sallies, it was not without some loss; whereby the regular troops lessened continually, and by the constant duty they were put upon were so fatigued, that they could not help sleeping upon their arms. For the service soon proved too hot for the miquelets, so that little could be expected from them. In fine, the English were forced to stand the brunt, and

¹ For choice.

performed wonders ; but being few in number and worn out with fatigue, the enemy became¹ masters of many advantageous posts. First, by treachery they gained the fort on the strand at the foot of Montjuich, which commanded the shore on that side ; by which the enemy secured a communication between their fleet and army ; and lastly, surprised the Castle of Montjuich ; and with the continual bombard-ing and cannonading from their many batteries, they had reduced the place to a miserable condition, and made so large a breach, that there only seemed resolution wanting to have mounted and become masters of it.

The council of war of the 18th having, as I observed, determined to remain off of Altea till the next day at noon in expectation of being joined by the Irish convoy, Sir John detached the Panther to ply to windward to look out for them ; and in the morning discovered three sail, which in a few hours joined the fleet, and were the Antelope, Winchester and Falcon ; giving an account that they parted with Sir George Byng, with the reinforcement from England, off of Cape St. Vincent, and saw him the night before off of Cape de Gata and did believe the Irish convoy was with him. Upon this it was agreed to stay till he should join them ; which he did by ten o'clock the next morning, with his squadron, consisting of thirteen ships, but not with the Irish convoy, as they had been advised.

Upon this junction of the two squadrons, Sir John called a council of war to consider whether they should proceed directly to Barce-

¹ They could not prevent the enemy from becoming . . .

lona, or continue there till joined by the convoy with forces from Ireland. But considering the time of their arrival was uncertain, it was agreed to proceed to Tarragona, and in their passage to endeavour to meet with the frigates that were sent to Vinaroz for intelligence, pursuant to the resolution of the 18th instant; and if by any of them, or at Tarragona, they were certained that the enemy's ships before Barcelona were not very much superior to them, to give them battle; otherwise to be governed by a council of war. That the general rendez-vous should be at Tarragona; leaving a frigate with orders for the ships expected from Ireland, with all the transports, or whatever ships else should call at Altea in order to join the fleet, to repair thither.

Accordingly the fleet bore away for Tarragona, the place appointed for their rendez-vous, leaving the Falcon pink to cruise off of Altea, with orders for Captain Walker with his convoy to follow after. The 21st and 22nd, they had hard northerly winds, which drove the fleet back as low as Altea; where he was joined by Captain Walker with the convoy and transports, and the Prince George (Captain Martin) which ship had been left at Lisbon to be careened.

All being now fortunately united, the wind (which governs all maritime affairs) was the only obstacle to their proceeding to Barcelona, and a council of war was held upon that occasion the 22nd; the fleet being then off of Cape Martine,¹ and the wind easterly. And considering the danger Barcelona might be in, the question was whether they should endeavour to gain their

¹ Cape de la Náo.

passage to the northward of the islands of Iviza and Majorca, or to the southward of them. And it was resolved to attempt to gain the passage to Barcelona to the northward of the said islands. The 24th, Sir John removed his flag from the Ranelagh on board his former ship the Prince George. The next morning, about ten o'clock, being off of Tortosa, about four leagues distant, it proved stark calm with a great swell that hove them upon the shore. Whereupon the fleet was obliged to anchor. But at noon a small breeze springing up, they weighed again. The day after in the morning, by the Leopard, he received the following letter from the King of Spain.

SIR,—'Tis with no small satisfaction that I have been informed by the Earl of Peterborough's letters of your happy arrival upon the coast of Valencia. I doubt not but you have heard of the loss of Montjuich, and of the condition my town of Barcelona is in; where I was willing to suffer myself to be besieged, and to endure all the hardships and accidents of war, to encourage both the garrison and my subjects by my presence, to make a long and vigorous defence. It seems, by the enemy's motions, they have already received notice of your approach. But instead of thinking to retreat, they have redoubled their efforts, and fire upon the breach, which will be in a condition to storm after to-morrow at farthest. And in all appearance they will make a desperate attempt to render themselves masters of this town before the fleet can arrive with the succours. Hence you will judge of the indispensable necessity there is that you should do your utmost endeavours; using all possible diligence to relieve us without loss of time, and bring the fleet directly hither, together with the troops to my town of Barcelona, without stopping or disembarking the forces elsewhere, *as some other persons may pretend to direct you.* For they can be nowhere so necessary as in

this town, which is at the very point of being lost for want to relief.

Wherefore I pray God to have you in His holy protection; and, expecting the pleasure of seeing you as soon as possible, I assure you of my perfect esteem and acknowledgment.

CHARLES.

BARCELONA, May 4, 1706, N.S.

P.S. Sir, you will see the condition we are in by our letters, and I hope you will come as soon as possible to save us; of which you alone shall have the glory. For the rest I refer you to Mr. Stanhope's letter.

This letter clearly shews his Majesty's desire to have the troops come to Barcelona, without disembarking any part of them elsewhere; and the words following, '*as some other persons may pretend to direct you,*' as plainly relate to the Lord Peterborough's repeated orders to Sir John for disembarking them at other places contrary to His Majesty's interest and desire; for no other person could pretend to direct him; and by the manner it's evident the King thought his Lordship assumed an authority as Admiral, which he had not.

At the same time, and by the same conveyance that he received the King of Spain's letter, four other letters were brought him from the Earl of Peterborough, of the 18th and 30th of April, N.S., and of the 2nd and 5th of May; all of them relating to the present circumstances of Barcelona, and the imminent danger it was in: that Montjuich was taken and the town could not hold out above three days; that he believed the fleet would arrive (as it did at Gibraltar) in the utmost necessity; that the saving the place would be more than a victory at sea, without which the crown of Spain was lost; that the

rage of the people was such, upon the delays they pretended had been made, that he knew not what they might do with the king ; but he doubted they would cut the throats of all the garrison—but this latter part of the letter was absolutely false, for the people in the city persevered with the greatest resolution and constancy to the last in the defence of the place—with a full persuasion, from Sir John's known zeal to promote His Majesty's service, that the place would be effectually relieved, as soon as the circumstances of the fleet and the sea would admit. So that this insinuation of a pretended delay, with the consequence, seems artfully thrown in, as an ill-natured reflection, because he acted contrary to his Lordship's directions. He then goes on, 'I have passed this night,' says he (the 5th, N.S.) at Sitges, five leagues to the westward of Barcelona ; where I have men in boats ready, under the countenance of the fleet, to put into Barcelona.' To these letters of the Earl of Peterborough, Sir John returned an answer immediately, to acquaint him of the happy junction both of the reinforcement from England, and the convoy from Ireland, being then off of Tarragona. And having received a letter from Prince Lichtenstein at the same time with that of his Majesty, he returned the following answer.

SIR,—This morning the bearer brought me His Majesty the King of Spain's, and your Highness's letters ; and [1] am extremely concerned that Barcelona is in so much danger. I do assure your Highness that, had not contrary winds prevented me, the place had been relieved three days ago ; and if it please God suddenly to give us a fair wind, I doubt not but I shall be before Barcelona by the time this reaches your Highness's hands, with

48 sail of ships of the line, and about 5000 succours. I pray that Almighty God will preserve His Majesty and your Highness, and that he will make me happy, in being instrumental in securing the city to His Majesty.

I am, &c.

J. LEAKE.

The same day (26th) in the morning, Sir John made a signal for the captains of the fleet, to direct the manner of going into Barcelona Bay and falling upon the enemy, if they should be found there. For which purpose, he ordered that, when the fleet arrived within three or four leagues of the place, every ship should make the best of their way thither, and attack the enemy, by boarding, sinking, burning, and otherwise destroying them. The signal appointed to know each other in the night, was four lights; one at the ensign staff, and three at the mizzen peak.

This disposition being made, he continued to make all the haste that the wind would permit, in hopes to surprise the French squadron in the bay; which must have happened, had the wind but favoured him that day, or the French remained where they were till next morning. But to their great good fortune, having received notice of the Confederate fleet by a Genoese tartan that sailed at the same time with the fleet, Count Toulouse retired that night with great precipitation, with his squadron consisting of twenty-eight sail of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels, and by that means saved themselves. For considering the superiority of the Confederate fleet with Sir John, and that the enemy would have been embayed,¹ it is hardly

¹ Landlocked.

probable any of them could have escaped. As it was, only one of the enemy's scouts was destroyed, being a ship of 40 guns, which in his passage up the Straits was forced ashore and burnt near Cape de Gata.

The 27th, in the morning, being fair weather and little wind, he got within three leagues of Barcelona ; and considering the place was by this time at the last extremity ; and that the enemy, upon sight of the fleet, might make a desperate push to carry the place, he detached Sir George Byng and Admiral Wassenaer, with orders to make sail before with some forces. They accordingly proceeded thither, anchored in the bay, and landed a considerable body of men, who immediately marched to defend the breach.

Soon after, the Earl of Peterborough came off in one of the country boats, and about ten o'clock came into the fleet, bringing with him several small Spanish barks, in which he had embarked twelve or fourteen hundred land men, to throw them under the protection of the fleet into the city. His Lordship, though he assumed no command, went on board the Prince George and hoisted the Union flag, Sir John keeping his flag still flying. And about two o'clock they came into the road of Barcelona ; when my Lord struck the Union flag and went ashore, and soon after the whole fleet anchored before the town in a lucky time to rescue it from falling into the enemy's hands, and to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants, who reckoned but upon one day's life. For they expected to have been stormed the same night ; the breach being capable for forty men abreast to enter. And indeed, there only seemed resolution wanting

to have mounted and become masters of it, even when the fleet was arrived. Wherefore His Majesty being in hourly expectation the enemy would make an assault upon the breach, desired all the forces might be immediately landed, and they were disembarked together with the marines of the fleet. Thus was the city relieved and secured from the power of the enemy. If Sir John had acted with less caution ; if he had not joined the convoys and strengthened him with land as well as sea-forces, but pursuing his native fire rushed impetuous to their succour, he had carried a weak and insufficient force to relieve them, and lost all. It had been resolved to attempt their relief at all events ; but a sure and certain relief (upon which all depended) could have been effected by no other means than those he took, so well conducted and happily executed.

Having given this account, I shall subjoin a further relation of this remarkable event, from the history of *The Reign of Queen Anne*, and the *Gazette* of the time. 'The brave and fortunate Sir John Leake,' says the History,¹ 'who with the Confederate fleet was detained by contrary winds, - was with great concern informed of the sad condition the besieged were in, which was the more desperate, in that they had no news from the fleet. Count Toulouse, who with his squadron kept the town blocked up by sea, had landed a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition ; and the besieged were reduced to defend their ruined walls by coupures² ; so that notwithstanding their resolution, notwith-

¹ Boyer's *Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 239.

² An entrenchment made by the besieged behind a breach.

standing the zeal of the inhabitants, the valour of the country people who continually harassed the besiegers, and the arrival of the Earl of Peterborough with some troops from Valencia ; their falling into the enemy's hands seemed inevitable. All things were ready for an assault, when Providence, which was ever conspicuous in Sir John Leake's expeditions, wafted the fleet, with some land-forces into Barcelona, on the 8th of May, N.S., from whence Count Toulouse was precipitately retired the night before.'

This is Mr. Boyer's account, to which I shall add some part of the account as related in the *Gazette* of the 6th of June, wherein the former is defective,¹ viz., ' Sir John Leake having received advice at Gibraltar of the Duke of Anjou's being before the city (of Barcelona) with his army, &c., he did with the same extraordinary care and diligence, with which he had fitted out the ships that sailed with him from hence (Lisbon) about three months ago (after they had been much shattered in a long and tedious passage from Barcelona hither) apply himself to carry the necessary succours to that town, &c.' It is to be observed that there had been an account previous to this in the *Gazette* of the 3rd of June ; but the ministry being of opinion Sir John had not justice done him (no notice being taken in that of the commendable zeal and application he had used to relieve the King in Barcelona) they directed a particular relation of the whole proceeding to be inserted in the next paper, [of] a part whereof the above is a transcript.

¹ It is not quite clear whether 'former is defective' refers to Boyer's History or the *Gazette* of the 3rd.

The afternoon of the 27th, when the fleet arrived, all the forces were landed. Which being done, Sir John, attended by the Admirals of the fleet, the same evening waited upon His Majesty, who for that purpose had sent his coaches and equipage to receive him at the waterside. And being conducted with great honour, and the universal acclamations of the people to the palace, he met with a most gracious reception from His Catholic Majesty, who told him he had been his saviour; and, embracing him with great affection, expressed the highest sense of the obligations he was under to him for relieving him from the worst misfortune [that] could befall him at the critical moment, when all was at stake. And the next day twelve of the principal citizens of King Charles's party, on the behalf of that principality and city, came on board the Prince George to compliment Sir John upon so fortunately relieving His Majesty and Barcelona; whereby, as they expressed themselves, he had preserved His Majesty for the kingdom, and the kingdom for His Majesty; and after a courteous reception, they returned on shore, being saluted at going from the ship with eleven guns.

Notwithstanding the arrival of the fleet and forces, the enemy continued their attack the 29th and 30th, as if they intended to carry on the siege. But this was only to amuse the besieged; for they were in such confusion, that no orders their commanders gave them as to the blowing up of Montjuich and the destroying of their great guns, mortars, ammunition and provision, were well executed. The 1st of May, their fire very much abated; and the next day, with a universal consternation, King Philip

raised the siege and abandoned his well stored camp. This remarkable event was attended with a total eclipse of the sun, which, happening at the same instant the enemy were leaving Barcelona, did not a little increase their consternation, as if the heavens concurred to defeat and put to shame the designs of the French, whose monarch had assumed the sun for his device. At the same time it was taken as a happy omen to the Confederates, and added fresh courage to the Catalans who, as soon as the obscurity was over, to the number of some thousands, harassed and pursued the enemy in their retreat, taking from them two field-pieces and some wagons.

Whilst the miquelets were thus employed, those of the town took possession of the enemy's camp; where they found 106 pieces of brass cannon, being 40, 30, and 24-pounders; 27 mortars; 5000 barrels of gunpowder; 500 barrels of musket shot; with great quantities of lead; 2000 bombs; 10,000 great royal grenades; 40,000 cannon-balls; 8000 spades and shovels; 13,000 sacks of meal; vast quantities of rye, oats and wheat; 10,000 pairs of shoes; several iron mills and other warlike utensils; besides above 1500 sick and wounded, whom the Marshal de Tessé recommended to the Earl of Peterborough by a letter.

Thus the French army, which invested the city of Barcelona with so much fury on the 22nd of April with 22,000 men, the 11th of May, N.S., following, when they actually thought themselves masters of the place, were forced to a shameful retreat with the utmost confusion; having left 2000 men in the trenches, and 6000 lost in the siege. But besides the loss the enemy sustained, and their retreat or rather flight

(equivalent to a victory) the advantages accruing to the King of Spain and the common cause are hardly to be estimated. If it was only the preservation of the person of the Catholic King and the faithful Catalans, it would have been truly glorious and worthy the Confederate arms. For without this relief, all our laurels in Catalonia must soon have withered, and that country fallen under a severer slavery than before ; and with the person of the King had ended the contention for the crown of Spain, and united it with that of France ; a circumstance that would have shaken the liberties of all Europe. But though the downfall of the great power of France may with more reason be dated from the battle of Blenheim, yet we may fix here the epoch ¹ of the ill-fortune that generally attended the united forces of France and Spain. For hereupon, Madrid ² and many other cities acknowledged King Charles soon after ; and the way became easy and level to the conquest of all Spain, if the Confederates had been as diligent to improve the advantage, as the occasion was favourable. It is certain the raising of this siege cast the court of France into great consternation and perplexity, and was one of the causes that forced their haughty monarch at this time to make public advances towards a peace.

The news of this memorable relief was carried to England by Captain Delavall, whom Sir John dispatched for that purpose ; and this with our

¹ Boyer's *Life and Reign of Queen Anne*.

² In the Lord Galway's letter to Sir John Leake from Madrid, July 3, 1706, N.S., ' 'Tis with great satisfaction,' says he, ' that I have the honour to congratulate you from hence upon the timely succouring of Barcelona, to which in a great measure we owe our being here.'—*Author's Note*.

remarkable successes at that time in Brabant occasioned an inexpressible joy at home ; which Her Majesty solemnized by a public Thanksgiving the 27th of June following. And His Catholic Majesty (afterwards Emperor of Germany) annually commemorated this deliverance by a public Thanksgiving at Vienna, on the 27th day of May as long as he lived. Her Majesty likewise, the better to perpetuate the memory of this action, was pleased to direct a medal to be struck, one side exhibiting Her Majesty's head, and on the reverse, a representation of the city and harbour of Barcelona ; and over it the sun in eclipse, with this inscription, ' *Barcelonâ liberatâ, Gallis Fugatis,*' that is, ' *Barcelona relieved, and the French put to flight.*'

Soon after the enemy decamped, 1800 forces were put into transports, and sent under convoy of three frigates to Valencia, and 500 by another convoy to St. Feliu de Guixols to the eastward of Barcelona, to strengthen the garrison of Gerona against any attempt of the enemy in their retreat. The 3rd instant, the Hampton Court brought in a prize laden with corn, taken by the Falcon (Captain Delavall) who sailed the day before with the express for England. Two days after this, namely, the 5th instant, being appointed by His Catholic Majesty as a public rejoicing for the relief of Barcelona and the retreat of the enemy, the guns of the city and three volleys of small arms were fired round the place, which was answered by the cannon of the fleet. The Admirals made their congratulations, and met with a grateful reception from His Majesty ; were nobly entertained at the palace, and the evening was concluded with illuminations, fireworks, and all other demonstrations of joy.

Having now given a full account of the relief of Barcelona, I should conclude this chapter, but for one incident, namely, the Earl of Peterborough's hoisting his flag as Admiral, from whence some have attributed to his Lordship the honour of relieving Barcelona; and therefore I think myself indispensably obliged, in justice to Sir John Leake, and for the sake of truth, to set that affair in a true light.

I observed that the Earl of Peterborough, about three leagues from Barcelona, came into the fleet from the adjacent shore with about 1400 men he had put on board some Spanish barks, with an intent, as he says in his letter to Sir John, to throw them into Barcelona under the protection of the fleet; and going on board the Prince George he hoisted the Union flag, Sir John keeping his flag also flying at the same time. From hence I suppose his Lordship's flatterers derive that share of the honour they attribute to him in this enterprise; by that act, inferring he commanded the fleet at the time they actually relieved the place; having likewise given some orders previous to this act, in order to promote, as they would have it, the relief of the place. Admitting then what is not true, that he was actually Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the fleet at that time, I shall enquire, first, whether his Lordship did any act immediately, or by consequence, tending to promote the relief of His Majesty in Barcelona, to entitle him to any share of the reputation arising from it. And then examine whether he was invested with the chief command of the fleet at that time.

The principal writer that has attributed to his Lordship this honour not due to him is his own

historian,¹ who has upon as good grounds related many other fine things done by him, which I believe my Lord himself was not conscious of. But very unfortunately this writer, by making all miracle, has really imputed nothing to him ; and an eminent author² has with great justice and moderation observed that 'the methods his Lordship pursued were so uncommon and extraordinary, that notwithstanding all the care a late writer has taken to relate what passed with the utmost veracity and exactness, the account of them has more the air of romance than history.' This romance would therefore hardly require an answer ; but because his Lordship did in fact hoist the Union flag by virtue of his joint commission with Sir Clowdisley Shovell, from whence wrong conclusions may be drawn, I shall for that reason make some inquiry, but more especially in regard to what was inserted in the *Gazette* of June 6th, 1706, containing a particular account of the relief of Barcelona, inserted by direction of the ministry, to do justice, as it was said, to Sir John Leake ; which the account in the *Gazette* preceding had not done. But though indeed the extraordinary care and diligence Sir John applied to bring the fleet to Barcelona is fully expressed in this second relation, yet the latter part of it has manifestly the same stamp as the first, and the same account has likewise been followed by the exact Mr. Lediard.³ It runs thus, 'The 7th instant, N.S., the Earl of Peterborough came on board, and took upon him the command of the fleet as Admiral. A letter came that day from

¹ Dr. Freind, *Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain*.

² Boyer, *Life and Reign of Queen Anne*.

³ Vol. ii, p. 807.

the King of Spain, dated the 4th, in very pressing instances for relief. Within two hours after the receipt of His Majesty's letter, arose a very fine and fresh gale, and brought the fleet with all the forces and recruits from England and Ireland to an anchor before Barcelona, the 8th instant in the afternoon.' What relates to his Lordship's taking the command of the fleet as Admiral shall be considered afterwards. What is said of the King of Spain's letter is manifestly false; for this letter of the 4th instant was received the day before the fleet arrived at Barcelona, and his Lordship did not come on board till the morning of their arrival, about three leagues from the place; so that this letter is made to be received a day later, to make it believed the subsequent proceedings thereupon were concerted and executed under the command of his Lordship as Admiral, and the relief therefore to be virtually his act; whereas he did not come on board till four hours before the arrival of the fleet at Barcelona, and then assumed the honour only of wearing the Union flag, but took no command upon him, striking it again in Barcelona Road, as soon as they came thither. This therefore was contributing no more to the relief of the place, than if his Lordship had gone thither with his flag flying at the head of his barge. And if we consider what steps my Lord took antecedent to this, it will appear that Barcelona was relieved, if not directly contrary to his method, at least not pursuant to it.

It cannot be denied but my Lord had got some troops ready in small embarkations off Vinaroz and S. Mateo¹ to take the opportunity,

¹ Peñíscola.

as himself says, of throwing them into Barcelona under the protection of the fleet ; which shows his Lordship received the benefit of the same relief from the fleet, as the King of Spain did ; with this difference only, that his Lordship was skulking in the mountains, and His Majesty was bravely defending the city. It is likewise true, that his Lordship hoisted the Union flag four hours on board the Prince George, and Sir John's flying at the same time. But all this was nothing to the relief of the place. His coming to an anchor before the town in this manner did not in the least facilitate the motions of the fleet : for all the measures for their relief had before been concerted and in a manner executed. For Sir John had detached Admiral Byng and Admiral Wassenaer to make sail before the fleet ; and they had anchored in the Road, and actually thrown a good body of forces into the place, before one half of the fleet knew the Lord Peterborough was on board ; who indeed, upon his arrival, was pleased to approve of what had been done ; and as he found the fleet, so he left it, without taking upon him any command. And as to the previous orders which his Lordship took upon him to give for landing the troops, they were happily so little regarded, that there is not the least notice taken of them in any of the councils of war. Notwithstanding then, that so great a share of the relief of Barcelona has been attributed to the Lord Peterborough, 'tis evident (by what I have mentioned in the former part of this chapter) that he knew nothing of the enemy's designs upon that place three days before they had actually invested it. Five days after he knew the town was besieged, his Lordship was of opinion for landing all the

succours in the kingdom of Valencia, and twenty days after, by no means nearer than Tarragona. Now to say nothing of the dispatch¹ made by Sir John Leake in bringing the fleet and succours to the relief of Barcelona in so critical a time contrary to the Lord Peterborough's opinion, let any indifferent person judge whether the place had ever been relieved, if his Lordship's orders had been obeyed, which were directly opposite to His Catholic Majesty's interest and desire, as he expressed himself in his letter to Sir John of the 4th of May, N.S.² And in other letters of the 5th of February, 1707-8, 20th of June, and 30th of July, 1708, His Majesty acknowledges his deliverance in Barcelona to be entirely owing to Sir John.³

If this pretended merit is derived from his being Admiral at that time and his coming on board, as the *Gazette* expresses it, and taking upon him the command of the fleet as Admiral (which only can be *implied* by his hoisting the Union flag for he did no other act as such) I must consider the next proposition: whether his Lordship was *de facto* Admiral of the fleet at that time. For if he was not, all that can be said for his Lordship falls to the ground, as raised upon a false foundation; and the action will

¹ *Impartial Inquiry*, p. 102.

² *Ibid.* See above, vol. ii, p. 19.

³ In that of February 5, 1707-8. 'The famous testimonies which you have given me . . . especially in that of the siege and deliverance of this capital city.'

In that of June 20, 1708. 'As I owe the obligation of the deliverance of this capital to the diligence which you used to come to my relief in the year 1706.'

In that of July 30. 'As you have gained the glory of relieving this capital in the siege which my Royal person was exposed to in the year 1706.'

appear a base affront to Sir John Leake, and a poor attempt to steal away the laurel. Had his Lordship been indisputably Admiral of the fleet, the hoisting his flag on board Sir John's own ship was an action without precedent; but [the affront] was much aggravated, as his Lordship was conscious his authority was questioned, not only by the King of Spain, but by all the officers of the fleet, who must be supposed competent judges of the matter. Sir John, indeed, though he resented this affront, very prudently passed it over at the time, being intent to promote the service he was upon; and even in his letter to acquaint His Royal Highness of the Relief of Barcelona, he takes no notice of it, but let the matter subside till the next opportunity, which was the 15th of May; when having occasion to give His Highness a further account of his proceedings, he speaks of it; but as an affair that had so little affected him, that he should have mentioned it in his former letter, but forgot it. He was not willing to lay too great a stress upon a punctilio, which he did not think advisable to dispute with his Lordship. Therefore he takes no notice at all of the particular affront to himself and his flag. He leaves that to his Highness's consideration, and only represents the matter in general terms, as relating to the public service. 'I forgot,' says he, 'in my last to acquaint you that my Lord Peterborough came on board me when I was within three leagues of this place (Barcelona) and hoisted his flag for that day by virtue of his former commission,¹ which I was not willing to dispute; though I

¹ See above, vol. i, p. 273.

cannot believe I shall be altogether discharged from my former orders¹ till the arrival of Sir Clowdisley Shovell, and shall take the best care I can, as well of the fleet, as not to have any disputes with his Lordship about that matter. But his business ashore has taken up his time so much, that he has been pleased to leave everything to me hitherto; though now I believe, he intends to hoist his flag on board the Somerset to go by sea to Valencia.' This plainly implies that he could have justified to have disputed this matter with his Lordship, but forbore it. As Sir John refers to my Lord's Commission and his own orders in this case, I shall first examine one and then the other, to see if anything can be drawn from thence to justify the Lord Peterborough's proceedings.

First, as to the commission. It only appointed his Lordship and Sir Clowdisley Shovell Joint Admirals of the fleet. Now the nature of a joint-office implies they are to act jointly. How many soever are joined in such a commission, it is still but a single office, executed by their joint-council. And the tenor of this joint-commission was no more than that of other joint-commissions formerly granted, which had always been executed jointly, and never otherwise. But a separate power in the present case was inconsistent, and in the absence of Sir Clowdisley impracticable. 'Admiral' Peterborough at the head of the army, perhaps at Madrid or elsewhere in the heart of Spain: or, say, 'General' Peterborough, giving orders and instructions to the Flag Officers; this must certainly intimidate the enemy, and give the

¹ See above, vol. i, p. 296.

Allies great hopes of success ; be very grateful to the whole fleet, and produce unanimity in all their councils ! From these certain consequences, and the nature of the joint-commission, I think it never could be even meant that his Lordship should act otherwise than jointly, as being indeed incapable of acting singly.

Having considered his Lordship's commission, let us next examine Sir John Leake's Instructions from the Earl of Peterborough and Sir Clowdisley Shovell, to see whether anything in these joint-orders implies any distinct and separate power in his Lordship ; or, as the natural consequence of such power, puts Sir John under his Lordship's command ; for this was his own act. But at first sight, these orders by being joint discover they could not be otherwise. If the Earl of Peterborough had power to act as Admiral after the departure of Sir Clowdisley, to what end were these joint-orders, when my Lord was upon the spot, and was to give all subsequent orders ? It is repugnant to reason, and contrary to the practice of the navy. Sir Clowdisley Shovell could not be guilty of so egregious a mistake, or show so little regard to his own flag : and these Instructions show he was not ; for instead of putting Sir John under his Lordship's directions, (which, if he had continued Admiral when Sir Clowdisley was gone, they must have done) it is expressly said that ' if the Earl of Peterborough shall advise that it is necessary for a part, or your whole squadron, to come to the coast of Catalonia, and you have none of Her Majesty's or His Royal Highness's commands to perform, you are to comply with his Lordship's directions, if it shall be thought advisable by a council of war.' Here it is observable, the squadron is called ' yours '

(Sir John's). Then it was upon some case of necessity where his Lordship should give notice, and in relation to Catalonia only ; and even then only as the council of war should think advisable. As to the words, complying with his Lordship's directions, that is only in relation to the manner how they may best give their assistance, and was no more than he was to do upon any proposal he should receive from my Lord Galway or the English Ambassador at Lisbon, who had no power at all to command the fleet. These Instructions are so plain as to be obvious to the meanest capacity, and his Lordship could not pretend ignorance of them, because they were his own act.

It appears likewise very clear from the Queen's Instructions, and His Royal Highness's orders, after Sir Clowdisley Shovell returned to England, that the Lord Peterborough was not esteemed to have any command in the fleet ; every one of them being directed to ' Sir John Leake, Kt., Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of Her Majesty's fleet,' without any notice of the Lord Peterborough ; which is something strange, if they looked upon him as Admiral. And the orders Sir George Byng and the commanders of all ships and squadrons sent to join the fleet in the Mediterranean in like manner directed them, upon their arrival there, to follow all such orders as they should receive from Sir John Leake. And the very ships which at any time his Lordship had occasion for, were put under his direction by Sir John's orders. And as a demonstration that his Lordship's commission was of no effect from the time Sir Clowdisley sailed, they soon after sent out another commission ; and then all orders came directed to the Lord Peterborough as

Admiral, if in the fleet, but if on shore to Sir John Leake.

Upon the whole it appears undeniably that the Lord Peterborough did not contribute by his actions or counsels to the relief of Barcelona. On the contrary, that he assumed to himself a power of directing the fleet without being duly authorised, and thereby put them upon measures directly contrary to the public service, as well as to the desires of His Catholic Majesty; that as he did not further the relief of King Charles in Barcelona, so neither had he any command as Admiral in the fleet that brought the succours to their relief, and therefore can have no pretence to any share of the honour arising from that glorious and fortunate action. On the contrary, that his hoisting the Union flag on board the Prince George, where Sir John Leake's flag was flying, and proposing to have it struck, was an insult, and a mean attempt to deprive him of the honour due to his flag; under which the whole enterprise had been so happily conducted. It was indeed so unwarrantable a proceeding, that [it] can no way be reconciled with any character but that of his Lordship's, by comparing it with his actions on shore, which were many of them equally surprising; and which, that they should (so ill-concerted and rash) be attended with success, he himself seemed to think almost miraculous:¹ but much more so would it have been, for a much abler man than his Lordship, to have reconciled the two different characters of Admiral and General. It was almost as great a difficulty for Sir John to maintain his character, and keep upon tolerable terms with such a competitor; but he knew it to be

¹ See his Lordship's letter, above, vol. ii, p. 12.

of the last consequence, and therefore suffered no particular resentments to break in upon the public service ; wherein he showed a moderation and greatness of mind, worthy the imitation of all men, but particularly of the military gentlemen ; by whose private piques and quarrels, many an enterprise that would otherwise have been crowned with success, has come to nothing. It is indeed a rare example, and does well in theory, but [is] very difficult to reduce to practice. Of this my Lord himself gave an irrefragable proof ; who was so ready to usurp the command of the fleet over Sir John Leake, by force of an obsolete commission ; and yet himself would not submit to the command of the Earl of Galway, who was an older officer, though he was required by Her Majesty¹ to do so. And this unreasonable and obstinate proceeding of his Lordship's, was the cause, or at least one of the causes, that prevented his joining the Lord Galway at Madrid, whereby we lost the Kingdom of Spain.

I should here have concluded this chapter, but before I had put the last hand to the work, I observed a late writer² had set up another competitor, namely Sir George Byng ; and not

¹ Sir Charles Hedges' letter to my Lord Peterborough of July 23, 1706. 'Her Majesty believes that there can be no ground of dispute between your Excellency and the Earl of Galway relating to the command, since his commission as General and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces is of the older date ; and no commission given by any other prince to her subjects can alter the rank she has given by her commission ; and takes it for granted your Excellency does not insist upon any superiority in point of command, upon account of the commission you may have from the King of Spain, and which was given without Her Majesty's participation.' *Impartial Inquiry*, p. 163. *Author's Note*.

² In *The Peerage of England*, vol. iii.

satisfied with allowing him a share of the honour derived from this action, he attributes the whole to him, by asserting that '*in hastening the squadron, he used such diligence and activity, and joined the fleet with such unexpected dispatch, that the saving the city was entirely owing to it.*' And therefore, I thought myself obliged to take particular notice (which otherwise I should not have done) of Sir George's proceedings upon this occasion. By Captain Price, who arrived at Lisbon with a squadron of English and Dutch, the 3rd of April, Sir John received a letter, dated the 24th of February, from Sir Thomas Hardy. '*They are hurrying,*' says he, '*what they can to get Sir George Byng to come to your relief; but he artfully got a grant to go out in the Royal Anne. Else, I believe, he had come with these ships.*' So that it seems, the squadron was detained till the Royal Anne was equipped and manned to Sir George's liking. For he was always careful to have the biggest ship he could get, and to have a chosen ship's company, that (as he expressed himself in a letter to the Admiralty) 'would stand by him upon occasion': circumstances which all the fleet took notice of to his disadvantage; and was the more remarkable at this time, when dispatch was necessary, and no other Flag had a First Rate. This was the hastening, the diligence, and the unexpected dispatch. Had Sir John been in the same situation, he would have gone in any ship of the squadron for expedition's sake (as we have shown in several instances he did); and if Sir George had used the same dispatch, he had joined the fleet when Captain Price did; and probably the French fleet had been surprised in Barcelona Road. And when he came to Lisbon, he stayed three days there, though the

wind was fair for sailing all the time. The Irish convoy was what Sir John had most occasion for. Had they joined him sooner he had relieved Barcelona sooner ; and, as they joined him five days before the place was relieved, Sir John would have taken the same measures, and have done just as he did, though Sir George with his squadron had not joined him.

CHAPTER XIII¹

Sir John sails with the fleet and transports for Valencia, disembarks the land-forces, reduces the city of Carthagena, and proceeds for Alicante.

AFTER the late happy success it was to be considered in what manner the fleet and troops should be employed. For this purpose, the 4th of May, 1706, Sir John held a council of war on board the Prince George to consider of their further proceedings. And they unanimously agreed that it was highly for the interest of the King of Spain and the Allies that, competent forces being left for the defence of Barcelona and Gerona, the rest should be employed immediately in conjunction with the fleet in securing the conquest of Valencia, and promoting His Majesty's interest all along the coast of Spain ; that it was apparent to the council of war that no attempt could be made by the French in their circumstances against Barcelona ; but that, if any such could be, the fleet being within the Straits and the troops towards the sea-coast, no enemy could prevent the sending succours to Barcelona in case of necessity ; that nothing seemed to the council of war of greater consequence than the

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 30th April to 24th June, 1706.

immediate putting in execution those resolutions that might be proper to be taken (whilst the enemy were under a consternation) towards encouraging the favourable disposition in all the other parts of Spain, even as far as Madrid. And the council of war did further humbly take the liberty to assure the King of Spain of their great forwardness to concur in all measures possible for his honour and interest.

The 9th instant, Prince Lichtenstein and the Earl of Peterborough came on board the Prince George to confer with Sir John upon the further operations of the campaign. The next day His Catholic Majesty summoned a Grand Council of War, consisting both of sea and land-officers, to be held in his presence; viz., the King; the Ambassador of Portugal; the Earl of Peterborough; Prince Lichtenstein; Count de Noyelles Marshal de Camp¹; Count Uhlfeldt Marshal de Camp; Sir John Leake, Kt.; Admiral Wassenaer; Lieutenant-General Wyndham; Prince Henry Landgrave of Hesse; Paul Methuen, Esq., Her Majesty's Envoy to the Duke of Savoy²; Milford Crow, Esq.; Brigadier Stanhope; Vice-Admiral Byng; Vice-Admiral Jennings; Don Francisco Zinzerling. Where His Majesty having proposed that, seeing God was pleased to bless his arms with success and it being necessary to pursue the advantage before the enemy should have time to gather fresh strength, he had called together the persons present in council to deliberate with them about the most important operations,

¹ By birth a Spaniard, but holding a commission in the Dutch army; much trusted by Marlborough; and selected by King Charles to take command of the Spaniards in Barcelona.

² Son of John Methuen the Ambassador at Lisbon.

and the easiest method of putting them in execution ; desiring all their opinions in a matter of so great consequence, as in the following proposal, which was : whether the war should be carried on in the kingdom of Aragon or Valencia ; and how the King's person and troops should be disposed of. Sir John declared that the dispositions for the operations of the fleet were of a different nature from those by land ; but that he assured,¹ in the name of the rest, that they would comply with their obligations and services to His Majesty to the utmost of their power in what belonged to the sea-service : and, having shown His Majesty their opinion in a council of war held on board, he referred himself to that as his sentiment, seeing no room to alter his opinion. It was at last resolved the horse should march by land to Valencia ; the Lord Peterborough to go by sea with about 6000 foot ; the King was to follow after with all convenient speed ; and that as soon as the forces were landed at Altea or Denia, Sir John to proceed with the fleet to Alicante.

In consequence of this, a council of war was held on board the Prince George the 13th, the Earl of Peterborough being present ; and it was determined that the forces should be received on board the fleet and transports, which the Lord Peterborough should direct ; and if wind and weather permitted, to sail the Thursday following ; and having landed the forces at Denia or Altea (which of these places the wind should render most convenient) to proceed to Alicante. Accordingly the next day, all the boats of the fleet were employed to embark the forces

¹ *Sic.*

on board the transports, as my Lord Peterborough had directed. But notwithstanding they were embarked, and took up all the transports, the next morning his Lordship would have had four of them to receive the sick men of the Royal regiment of Fusiliers, and to carry the prisoners of war to one of the French ports ; which could not have been done, as Sir John represented to his Lordship, without removing the forces again, and bringing a greater sickness in the fleet than there was, by having such numbers on board. For at that time several of the Third Rates had 100, and some of them 150 men sick on board, and the fleet in general very sickly. And therefore he proposed, as his opinion, to leave the sick men ashore at Barcelona, where better care could be taken of them, and afterwards be transported by frigates or other embarkations to their regiments, rather than crowd the fleet with such numbers, as by sickness might make it useless, if there should be occasion for action ; and that it would be better to transport the prisoners of war in settees than to take two transports at that time. However reasonable this was, his Lordship did not think fit to approve of the proposal, being of a temper not to be advised, and too apt to think everything, that was not done with a ready compliance, was done in opposition to him. Considering indeed how lately and how grossly he had affronted Sir John, he might well think so, though wrongly. He did indeed adhere to his opinion not to infest the men-of-war with sick soldiers, being too much pestered¹ already ; but,

¹ The word would appear here to mean 'sickly,' which is interesting for the light it throws on the doubtful passage in Raleigh's *Last Fight of the Revenge at Sea*, 'all pestered and rommaging.' Not that the evidence is conclusive : for Padre

in compliance with his Lordship, he appointed two transports to receive the prisoners on board. It was certainly a very difficult task to act with his Lordship, when everything was taken in the worst sense, and impossible to carry on the great work they were upon, with that harmony the general good required.

The 18th, the fleet sailed from Barcelona with the transports and forces for Valencia. The Lord Peterborough proceeded with them on board the Somerset, having hoisted the Union flag on board that ship the day before ; being determined (it seems) to bear it, by virtue of his joint-commission ; expecting shortly the arrival of Sir Clowdisley Shovell to revive his authority. And, as I observed before, Sir John, having represented the matter to His Royal Highness, carried the dispute no further, but submitted to his Lordship as Admiral ; who thereupon signed commissions, and did some other acts incident to that office ; though Sir John did all other acts as Admiral ; convened the councils of war on board the Prince George, and issued out all orders ; made all signals, and the like ; and on this occasion continued to transact all matters in the fleet as Admiral, though my Lord bore the flag, and was nominally so.

Before they sailed, Sir John had ordered the

Walter in *A Voyage Round the World* (1748) describing the Acapulco galleon says (Book II, cap. x) ' Her hands, too, are as few as is consistent with the safety of the ship, that she may be less pestered by the stowage of provisions.' Raleigh himself uses the word in this sense, ' Being without carriage, pester, or other impediment ' (*History of the World*, v. ii., § 8) ; so that, although the word originally may have signified ' disease,' it would seem to have been used by mariners in the wider and more general sense of ' plague ' (i.e., nuisance hindrance, vexation, annoyance).

Mary and Medway to remain at Barcelona, in order to take on board Paul Methuen, Esq., Her Majesty's envoy to the Duke of Savoy, and to convoy a ship with powder to Genoa, for the service of that prince ; and, having been cleaned at Genoa, to receive 400 Germans on board, and return again to the fleet. The Antelope he directed to remain there till the King of Spain took his journey to Valencia ; and two transports were left to carry the French prisoners of war to some port in France, by the Earl of Peterborough's direction.

It was intended, the troops should have been put ashore at Altea or Denia ; but the 22nd, a council of war being called (at his Lordship's desire) on board the Prince George, he acquainted them that the enemy being in possession of some places between Valencia and Denia, there was an absolute necessity to land the forces at Valencia, or as near as possible. Whereupon the rendezvous was appointed in the bay of Valencia to disembark the troops, and then to proceed with the fleet to the Road of Alicante, pursuant to the last council. That evening my Lord Peterborough struck his flag on board the Somerset, and going on board the Panther, made the best of his way before to Valencia. The following day Sir John detached three sail to cruise off Cape Martine, to endeavour to meet Sir Clowdisley Shovell, who was expected from England, to command with the joint-commission in the Mediterranean. And the next day the Pembroke was dispatched upon the like service, to acquaint him where to find the fleet ; Sir John being impatient for his arrival, to take the command from him ; pre-judging from the Lord Peterborough's behaviour hitherto, that some disputes might happen before the end

of the campaign, if they must act together ; though he was determined to avoid it as much as possible.

The 24th, the fleet arrived before Valencia, and the next day all the forces were disembarked. Whilst this was doing, a Turkish half-galley surprised a Spanish boat, and would have carried her off ; but one of the squadron observing it, secured them both, and brought them to Sir John, who immediately reinstated the Spaniards ; and having reprimanded the Turk for attempting such an action in the face of the fleet, he set them at liberty. The 27th, in the evening, the Mary Galley arrived from Lisbon, bringing Sir John the following Instructions from Her Majesty.

ANNE R.

Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Leake, Kt., Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of our Fleet. Given at our court at Kensington, the second day of April, 1706, in the fifth year of our reign.

Whereas the Duke of Savoy has, by his steady adherence to the interest of the Confederates, been reduced in his affairs to very great extremities, and thereupon has pressed earnestly for our further assistance with all possible expedition ; without which, he apprehends he must inevitably be overwhelmed and suppressed by the enemy : and we thinking his support to be of so great advantage and importance to the allies, that no proper measures towards relieving and assisting him should be neglected, either by sea or land ; and being desirous to do all that lies in us, for sending him succours answerable to the pressing occasions he has for them : our will and pleasure is that, in case upon your arrival on the coast of Catalonia, with the troops on board the transports under your care, you shall find by the King of Spain and Earl of Peterborough, or the Commander-in-Chief of our troops

in Spain, with whom you are to advise, that the King of Spain's affairs are not in danger from the enemy's fleet or troops ; or that the King of Spain is in a condition to spare three or more regiments of our said troops to be sent to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy ; you are to desire their concurrence and assistance in giving the necessary orders for sending three or more of our said regiments with a convoy, as shall be judged fit, to Oneglia, or such other port as shall be thought most proper to land them at. And in case they consent to this expedition, you are forthwith to take care that notice be given thereof to the Duke of Savoy ; and that measures be concerted with him for landing the succours that shall be agreed to be sent to him, and for joining his troops with them ; which being done, you are with all possible dispatch to put it in execution according as shall be advised and resolved by a council of war.

A. R.

With these orders, he received some papers of advice of the enemy's preparations ; that four ships of 100 guns each were sailed from Toulon to join the Count Toulouse, which would make his squadron 28 ships of the line, six frigates, four fireships, two bomb-vessels, two tartans and two flûtes ; that at Dunkirk they were hard at work in getting ready ten of their biggest ships ; that at Marseilles there were twelve galleys preparing to sail for Catalonia ; and that they were loading at Toulon some barks with provision and ammunition for the army in Catalonia, which were to be convoyed by some ships of war. At the same time, he also received an order from His Royal Highness, of the 13th of April, for encouraging seamen to enter on board Her Majesty's ships abroad, directing him to pay the sum of forty shillings to every one that should voluntarily enter at Lisbon, or any other port.

Upon these advices and orders, Sir John held

a council of war the next morning on board the Prince George, off of Valencia, the Earl of Peterborough coming on board upon that occasion. And it was unanimously resolved that what land-forces could be spared for the service of Savoy should be received on board the fleet, and proceed with them to such a place as should be thought most convenient, for the speedy succouring His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy ; as likewise to spare to the Dutch Admiral all the provisions necessary to enable the squadron of the States General to assist in the expedition. But no sooner was his Lordship got on shore but his mind altered ; and the next morning he acquainted Sir John by letter that he had called a council of war (of land-officers) and it was obvious to all there that the Queen's orders were to be communicated to the King of Spain, and his answer expected, which as soon as he received he would communicate ; that that road (of Valencia) being dangerous, and the resolution taken to proceed to Alicante, he had nothing to offer to the contrary, but to let him know, that he had advice the enemy were retiring from those posts that they were possessed of between him and Alicante ; so that unless the service required his marching into Castile, he should be in a condition by land to support the enterprises of the fleet on the coast, towards Alicante or Carthagea ; that he had nothing more to add, but to wish him a good voyage, and he should constantly communicate what he might think for the service.

By this it appears, the wind was changed with his Lordship. At once he takes his leave of the Duke of Savoy, whom the day before he was as ready to assist ; recommends the expedition to

Alicante, wherein he promises to join with the land-forces, and wishes Sir John a good voyage, as if they were to sail immediately, upon his Lordship's sudden change. But Sir John thought it requisite to have his Lordship's further sentiments upon the matter; and therefore dispatched a letter the following day by an officer, acquainting him that, since there could be no resolution taken about the Queen's orders till his Excellency had the King of Spain's opinion, there would be a necessity of calling a council of war to consider whether he should remain there with the fleet till an answer came, or proceed to Alicante; that he should be very glad his Excellency would give them the honour of his company at it at ten or eleven o'clock that morning, or his opinion by the bearer. His Lordship, according to the latter request, returned Sir John an answer in writing by the officer that brought him the letter: that, having been indisposed, he could not come on board; but as he was desirous to know his opinion, as if at the council of war, he thought it was plain the King's answer might as well be expected at Alicante, as in the Bay of Valencia, the first being a safer road (as he apprehended) for the fleet: besides, upon the retreat of the enemy, he had hopes that place might surrender upon sight of the fleet; and if not, he was then giving orders that troops might march that way in order to countenance our naval efforts, and to induce them to expect a siege, in case of resistance; that he had likewise sent to raise the country thereabouts, and to some of the gentry to appear, in case he continued in the same resolution with the last council of war, of sailing to Alicante. As for his own thoughts, they were for pursuing the result of the last council of war. Sir John having

laid this, and the former of his Lordship's letters before a council of war, the 30th instant, it was resolved to sail the first opportunity of wind for Alicante; but in case they should find on their arrival that they refused, on summons, to declare for King Charles, that then they should proceed to Altea, to wait for the bomb-ships, which they expected from Gibraltar, and the ships from England and Holland, and to water the fleet; remaining there or near that station till they should have intelligence of the land-forces coming to co-operate with the fleet for the reducing of Alicante; or for their proceeding with land-forces for Italy, if it should be resolved so to do. Pursuant to this resolution, the 1st of June, Sir John sailed with the fleet for¹ Valencia, leaving the Panther to convoy the clothing, corn and ordnance store-ships (when unladen) after the fleet. And at the Lord Peterborough's desire, the Fowey and Garland frigates were appointed to proceed to Algiers and Lisbon with his Lordship's letters.

The 4th, in the morning, the fleet being got the length of Altea, some Spanish gentlemen came from the shore and acquainted Sir John that the people of Carthagená were so well disposed for the interest of King Charles, that upon the appearance of the fleet they believed the city would declare for His Majesty; that Major-General Mahoni was got into Alicante with 500 horse; and that there would be a necessity of laying a formal siege to it; and that two galleys lay ready with money on board at Carthagená, to go over for Oran to pay that garrison. Upon this intelligence, Sir John, in the first place, detached the Hampton Court and Tiger to make the best

¹ (?) From.

of their way before, and cruise off of Carthagena to hinder the galleys from getting out, till he should join them with the fleet. And calling a council of war the next morning, it was resolved that since, by the aforesaid intelligence, the town of Alicante was making all possible preparations for their defence, and had been reinforced by Monsieur Mahoni with 500 horse; and they were satisfied the town would not declare for King Charles without a formal siege both by sea and land, and a bombardment, which the want of land-forces and bomb-vessels incapacitated them from undertaking; and of the favourable disposition of the people of Carthagena for King Charles; it was resolved to proceed thither directly, and the rendez-vous was appointed there, and afterwards at Alicante or Altea. At the same time Sir John dispatched the Leopard to cruise off of Altea, to give notice thereof to any of Her Majesty's ships that should want to join him; and a letter to the Earl of Peterborough, acquainting his Lordship with their proceedings; and that notwithstanding these resolutions, he did not doubt but he should come time enough to Alicante, to assist him and the land-forces in their attempts upon that place.

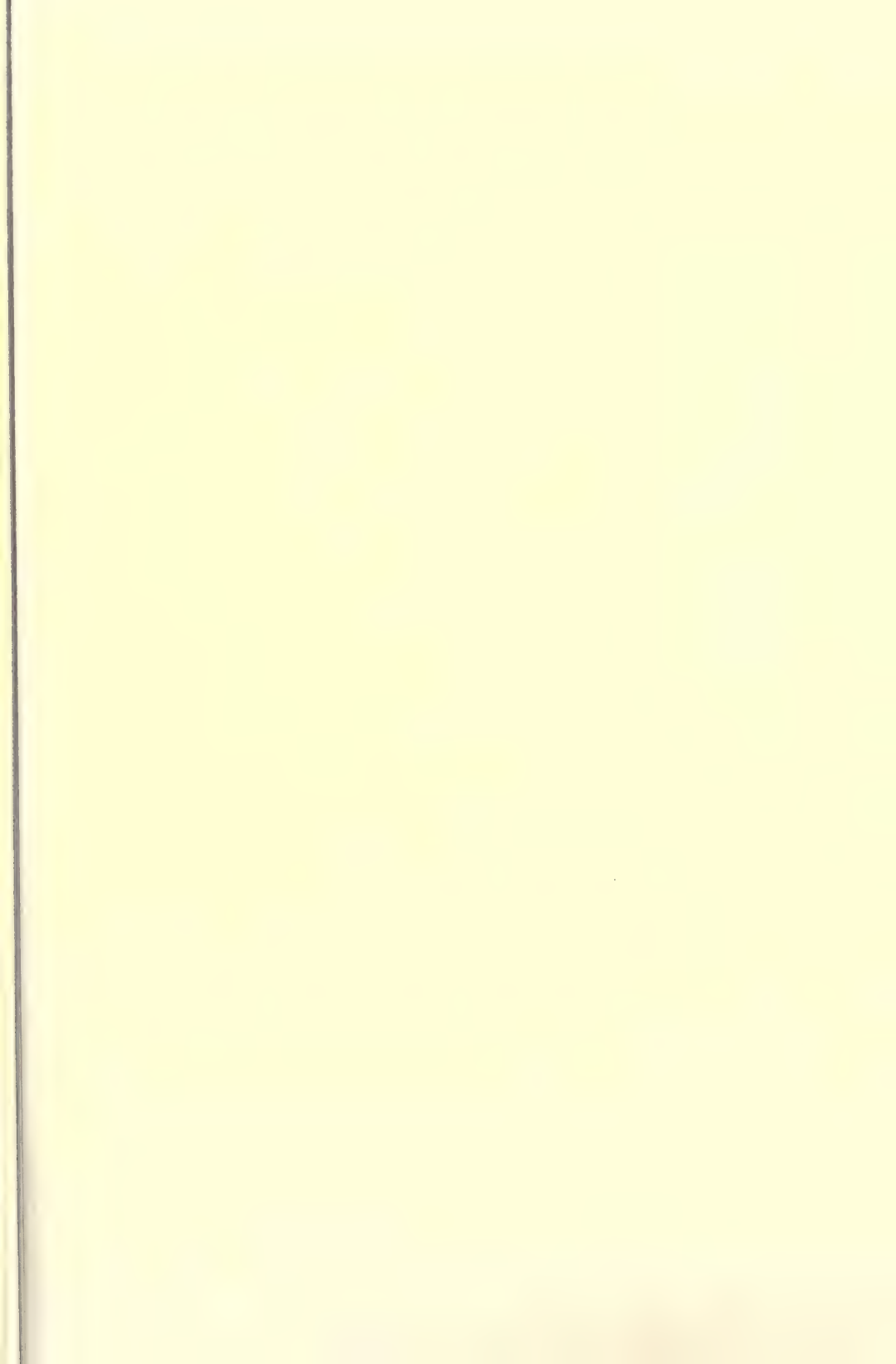
Accordingly he made for Carthagena, and the next day was joined by the Hampton Court and Tiger with the two galleys they were sent in quest of, having found them at an anchor off of Cape Palos. They were commanded by the Conde de Santa Cruz, who, as soon as he discovered our ships to be English, weighed anchor and joined them, being glad of the opportunity to declare for King Charles. Nevertheless, the next day having occasion to go to Altea to water, Sir John thought fit to order the same ships that

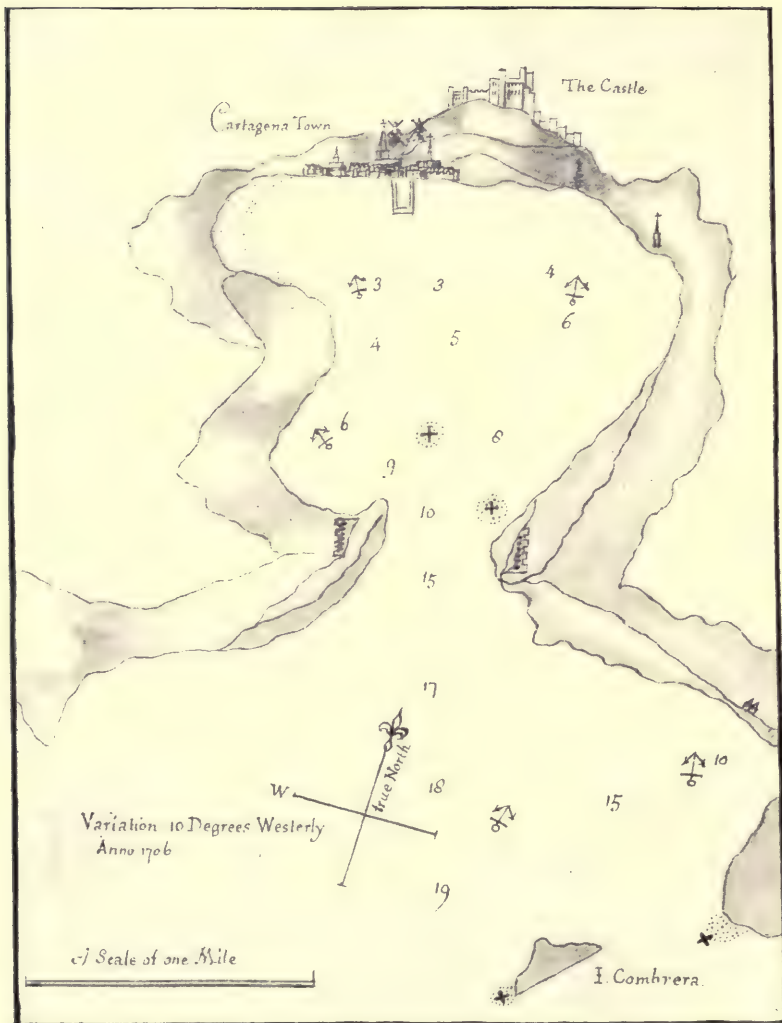
had brought them into the fleet, to attend them thither, that they might not have the opportunity to give them the slip, if the commanders should change their sentiments. By the Conde de Santa Cruz he was confirmed in his resolution of going to Carthagená ; the said Conde further assuring him that the Governor of the Castle at the entrance into the port was already in his interest. In the meantime, judging it necessary to have some cruisers off of Cape Palos, to give notice to any ships where to find the fleet, the 7th instant he appointed the Berwick and Burford for that service ; and the following day was joined by the Roebuck, with the bomb-vessels from Gibraltar, which he had expected with some impatience ; as in all probability they might be useful at Carthagená as well as Alicante, if the place did not submit upon the first appearance of the fleet.

The 12th instant, being off of Carthagená, they discovered a ship with French colours under the shore at the entrance into the harbour, which some of the squadron engaged, but could not prevent her getting in. About noon the fleet anchored five or six miles off the harbour's mouth ; whereupon Sir John immediately dispatched two letters, one to the Governor, and the other to the magistrates of the city, summoning them to surrender the place ; and about six o'clock received an answer, that they desired twenty-four hours to consider of it. Sir John by no means thought it advisable to comply with their request, lest in the meantime they should receive a reinforcement ; and therefore made the necessary dispositions for attacking the place. Seven English ships and three Dutch of the line he appointed, under the command of Sir John Jennings, to go into the harbour, in order to

cannonade the city. And one thousand English and Dutch marines he directed to be landed, and to march as near to the place as might be convenient; and, if they were willing to receive a garrison, to leave such a number of them (under the command of a senior officer till further order) as should be thought necessary by the Conde de Santa Cruz and the magistrates of the city, and then return with the rest to the fleet: but in case they found them not inclinable to declare for King Charles, and that it was hazardous to force them to their obedience, in that case they were to return. At the same time he sent another summons to the Governor and magistrates to surrender the place; signifying, that if they made any opposition, and did not immediately send off hostages in their own boats, it would not be in his power to show them any favour.

The next morning, at eleven o'clock, the wind favouring the design, he ordered the signal for the attack; when, the ships being under sail and the forces on their way in boats rowing to the shore, they sent off some of the chief persons of the city on board the Prince George to offer their submission. Whereupon he ordered only four of the men-of-war into the harbour, stopped the forces from landing as they had been directed, and garrisoned the place with 600 marines, under the command of Major Richard Hedges, whom he appointed Governor *pro tempore*. In the harbour they found the French ship above-mentioned, besides some others, and a great many smaller vessels. The Conde de Santa Cruz and the magistrates of the city assured him that if 1000 or 1500 men were to march to the city of Murcia, all that province would declare. But the fleet being very sickly, and most of the ships that had





"A DRAUGHT OF THE HARBOUR OF CARTHAGENA."

[From the Author's MS.]

remained with Sir John in the winter being ill-manned, he could act no further in that place ; but he took care to acquaint the Lord Peterborough with this circumstance, as well as with his proceedings, that he might improve them to the best advantage.

It was very much to the reputation of the fleet, that this important city of Carthagena, with the best and safest harbour in the whole kingdom of Spain, was reduced to the obedience of King Charles, without any assistance from the land-forces. And it was Sir John's peculiar happiness to arrive at the very crisis, either to relieve or take a place ; for if the contrary winds, which had made his passage so tedious thither from Valencia, had kept him but twenty-four hours longer, Major-General Mahoni with 500 horse had got into the town, and given him some trouble, if not entirely disappointed his design. But Mahoni finding himself too late to succour Carthagena, he went directly for Murcia, and from thence to Alicante.

The 15th, Sir John removed his flag on board the *Revenge*, she lying more convenient than the *Prince George*. He ordered all the transports into the harbour ; and having his thoughts now upon Alicante, he detached the *Hampton Court* with the *Exeter* to proceed thither before the fleet, to prevent the Genoese or others, carrying away the effects of the French or of the Spaniards in the Duke of Anjou's interest. The next day he called a council of war on board the *Revenge* ; and it was resolved to proceed to Altea and water, and put the fleet into a condition for further service, and to leave Sir John Jennings at Carthagena with four sail, to settle affairs for the better security of the city, and afterwards

to join the fleet at Altea or Alicante ; that all the transports, except two, should be sent into the harbour to remain there till further orders ; and that all the Queen's provisions on board them should be put on shore for the use of the garrison.

Sir John having given orders pursuant to these resolutions, the 18th he re-hoisted his flag on board the Prince George, and sailed with the fleet from Carthagena ; and the 20th, he came to anchor in Altea Bay. Here he was joined by the Fubbs Yacht,¹ with a letter from His Catholic Majesty, and another from the Earl of Peterborough, which we shall consider whilst the ships are busy taking in water. The letter from the King of Spain to Sir John Leake was as follows ; dated from Barcelona, June, 14, 1706, N.S. :—

SIR,—The Earl of Peterborough having given me part of the orders that was sent to him by Her Majesty of Great Britain, touching the affairs of the Duke of Savoy, and the resolution that you have taken in council of war to go and succour him ; I have represented to the said Earl, by a letter, (herein is a copy) the reasons that make me believe that if he detaches any battalions from hence, it will lose the affairs of Spain, and will be of small or no

¹ A short time before his death Commander Charles Cunningham Graham wrote me as follows : ' Sometime ago I asked in *The Mariner's Mirror* the origin of the name of 'Fubbs,' given to one of Charles II's yachts. I had a general notion that she was called after the Duchess of Portsmouth, but could not find anything to substantiate it. My daughter ran across the following in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, May, 1851 : ' The Sayings of King Charles II related by Peter Cunningham. " It was an age of nicknames. . . . A favourite yacht received from him the name of *Fubbs* in honour of the Duchess of Portsmouth, who was plump and full in her person.' "

The earliest yachts, of course, had none of the slimness which we associate with modern racing cutters.

consequence to the Duke of Savoy. When Her Majesty gave the said orders, she could not be informed of the state we were in in Catalonia ; and affairs have so changed, particularly since the siege of Barcelona is raised, that I am well assured the Queen would rather leave the troops together here, and not expose the provinces already conquered, nor stop the success of her arms and of the allies in Spain, than to separate them to go to Italy, upon uncertain hopes of success. So that I promise myself that you'll justly discern and weigh the losses that we might sustain here, with the advantages and small consequence that the said succours could produce in Savoy. You'll easily judge that the best methods to take in these circumstances is not to make any separation, but to pursue the operations of the land and sea with all the force imaginable. I have been willing to communicate to you these my advices, trusting in your prudence to judge if a squadron of ships detached from the fleet could be any way serviceable to the Duke of Savoy, especially as the last advice that came to me says that the enemy had laid up their ships at Toulon, and have but eight that guard and cruise upon the coast of Naples. I trust in your zeal and attention for my service, and that you'll soon begin the operations of the sea, remembering the islands ; particularly Port Mahon is that which is most agreeable, and the most important for my interest and the common cause. It seems to me that you'll find no difficulty in the said expedition ; there being but one hundred French soldiers which are shut up in the donjon, and dare not come down to the town for fear of the inhabitants, who are well affected to me, as well as those of Majorca. In all, I pray God to keep you in His holy Protection, and be assured of my constant and perfect esteem and good-will.

Barcelona this 14th of June, 1706.

CHARLES.

The Earl of Peterborough's letter.

SIR,—You will find by the account you receive in the letters addressed to you, and those to Admiral Wassenaer,

the circumstances of the Duke of Savoy. It will doubtless be the opinion of everybody to contribute all possible to the assistance of His Royal Highness. I shall always promote it wherever I have an opportunity, either in council of war, at sea or land. If I could think the fleet alone sufficient, I should offer some opinion. This affair is remitted to the decision of the King of Spain, who has declared in a letter to me that he thought three regiments too little to relieve the Duke, and too much for him to spare. It will signify little what my opinion may be in this point in relation to the troops; even our prodigious victory¹ obtained in the Low Countries, which has given us all Flanders, will hardly be weighed in the balance against the loss of Turin, and the ruin of His Royal Highness; the immediate ill consequence of which we shall feel in Spain. I have notice that the Dutch sailed out of Holland the first of May, which may guide us in the expectation we may have of the Grand Fleet. I wish we knew certainly what forces, what recruits, come along with them. It would then be more easy to give a vote, or make some proposal; and it seems almost impossible to take any resolution, with any satisfaction about Savoy, without some certainty in relation to the Grand Fleet, which I hope we have reason to expect every day. The last council of war sufficiently shows a disposition and willingness to assist in the service of Italy. You will best know by the letters you receive what answers you are obliged to make (if any) to the King of Spain, or to the Duke of Savoy. I desire copies of them.

Sir, Yours, &c.

VALENCIA, *June 26th, 1706.*

PETERBOROW.

Sir John having communicated the King of Spain's letter above-mentioned to a council of war the 21st instant, it was unanimously their opinion, that sending a squadron from the fleet for the coast of Italy without land-forces to

¹ Ramillies, 23rd May, 1706.

support the interest of the Duke of Savoy would have very little or no effect ; but when Sir Clowdisley Shovell and the squadron of the States General should join them, the fleet might then be in a better condition to make detachments for Italy, and wherewith to pursue the King of Spain's interest in reducing the sea-coast of Spain ; for in the condition the fleet was then in, being in general sickly and having landed six or seven hundred men at Carthagena to garrison that place (they being part of their ships' complements), they could not reasonably make any further detachments out of the fleet for reducing the islands, nor indeed to leave garrisons in them, should they declare for the King of Spain. But having had notice from the Earl of Peterborough by his letter of the 10th of June, N.S., of his ordering troops to march towards Alicante to induce that town to surrender upon sight of the fleet, they resolved, as soon as the fleet was watered, to proceed thither, and use their utmost endeavours to reduce that place to His Catholic Majesty's obedience. The result of this council Sir John immediately dispatched to His Catholic Majesty and the Earl of Peterborough ; that to the King being enclosed in the following letter :—

PRINCE GEORGE IN ALTEA BAY, *June 22.*

SIR,—The 20th instant I had the honour to receive your Majesty's of the 14th, and have herewith sent your Majesty a copy of my orders from the Queen my Royal mistress about succouring the Duke of Savoy with forces ; as likewise copies of three resolutions of councils of war ; two upon that occasion, and the third upon your Majesty's letter and proposal about Port Mahon, and sending part of the fleet to Italy ; and as the succouring His Royal Highness is left to your Majesty and the Earl of Peterborough's considerations, we could only offer our readi-

ness to transport them to Italy, if they could have been spared from your Majesty's service ; and since we cannot pretend to be judges sufficient to give our opinions in a matter of so great consequence, I can only beg leave to assure your Majesty that my endeavours shall always be for promoting your Majesty's interest, unless otherwise commanded, and presume the rest of the Flag Officers have the same resolution. I have only to add that it's my hopes, when Sir Clowdisley Shovell joins us with the forces I hear are to come from England, all things will succeed to your Majesty's satisfaction ; which is the hearty wishes of,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithful, &c.

J. LEAKE.

The 24th, the ships having completed their watering, Sir John sailed with the whole fleet from Altea Bay, except the Canterbury, which he left to cruise off of that place till further orders. The next day the Enterprise joined him from Lisbon, and the day following the Rye from England. By the Enterprise he received further Instructions from Her Majesty, dated the 14th of May, for succouring the Duke of Savoy, upon intelligence Her Majesty had received that the French fleet were retired to Toulon and that Barcelona was in no danger, but that the Duke of Savoy was in very great danger of being besieged in his capital and reduced to the utmost extremity ; that therefore if Turin was besieged, he was to concert with the King of Spain and the Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's forces the most effectual means for sending him assistance ; regard being had to the circumstances of the King of Spain, and the number of troops that could be spared. But these Instructions being subjected to the King of Spain's approbation and Sir John

having so lately received His Majesty's sentiments upon that head, he deferred the consideration of them till the next opportunity, when he should call a council of war. In the meantime he dispatched a copy of this order to His Catholic Majesty ; ' but I believe,' says he in his letter to the Secretary of State, ' twill not reach His Majesty, except it's sent after him to Madrid, towards which place my Lord Peterborough tells me he has taken his journey.' By the Rye he likewise received some orders from His Royal Highness, and some letters from his secretary, recommending to his protection the homeward bound Turkey trade, as far as could be done without interrupting other services : and directing him not to molest any ships of Spain laden with goods, &c., of the manufactures of Her Majesty's dominions, going to, or coming from Gibraltar.

At the same time he received a letter from Mr. John Fleetwood and Mr. Thomas Burrows, merchants in London, with a petition from them to His Royal Highness for satisfaction for damages received by their ship the *Mary Galley* in December last, when by Sir John's directions some rice and oil were taken out of her for the service of the fleet ; which having been upwards of ten weeks in their passage from Barcelona to Gibraltar, the companies were almost starved, as has been related in Chapter X. No doubt the action was sufficiently warranted by the necessity of it ; and therefore I should not think it material to make any reply. But because merchant ships have sometimes been but indifferently treated by our commanders abroad, and this complaint suggested no less of Sir John ; which being both false in fact, and diametrically opposite to his temper and practice, who used the merchant

ships upon all occasions with great regard and tenderness ; I think I cannot in justice (as some clamour was made upon this occasion at home) but say something in his justification. This I cannot do better than by inserting his own letters to His Highness's secretary and to the merchants the complainants, dated the 29th and 30th of June (from Alicante) and therefore should properly fall under consideration in the next chapter ; but being a digression, relating to an incident which had happened six months before, having no connection with the transactions of the fleet we are now upon, and wholly out of time, I conceive it more conveniently introduced at the end of this chapter, than to make a break in the next. The letter to the owners was as follows ; being directed to Messieurs Fleetwood and Burrows, merchants in London. Dated from on board the Prince George in Alicante Road, the 29th of June, 1706.

GENTLEMEN,—The 25th instant, I received your letter of the 29th of April and at the same time your petition to the Prince for redress of damages, pretended to be sustained by my detention of your ship called the *Mary Galley*, John Cuthbertson master ; and take leave to acquaint you that, as I found the said master to be a troublesome knavish fellow at first, so I perceive he has abused you with a false information. His telling you he lost the opportunity of sailing with the rest of the ships that came with him from Genoa is false ; not having any ships in company, when he joined me off of Cape de Gata, which was in the night ; at which time he made me lie by with the fleet some hours to stay for him, by his firing of guns, which made me believe the ship was distressed. The next morning, when he came aboard of me, he told me he had spoke with the Dutch Admiral and the ships under his command the day before ; and that the said Admiral would have given him bills or money

for his cargo at any price ; but that he rather chose to come to me to assist the English in their necessities, which I took very kindly ; and knowing that the Queen's price was much short of what the Dutch might give, I offered to send a ship down to leeward with him to the Dutch, that he might make the best of his market ; which he declined, telling me that he had no power to dispose of part of the ship's cargo ; but that, if I pleased, I might take any quantity out of him. So believing his owners would be satisfied if they were allowed the price then current in London, (by his own consent) I ordered the Panther to take her in tow, if she could not keep company with the fleet.

This was accordingly done ; and I sent a boat to him for two butts of oil for the use of a ship that had not one drop aboard. Whereupon the said master called all his men upon deck and acquainted them that his ship was taken from his command, and that it should not be with his consent that any part of the goods should go out of her.

I was soon informed of this matter, and sent for the master to know his reason. His answer was that he had no power to dispose of the cargo and could do no less ; but that I might take out what I pleased by my own power. I then offered a second time to send him to the Dutch, where he might probably have the better usage, as being their half countryman, (a Rotterdam Scot). But he refused that likewise, which gave me so much dissatisfaction, that if I had not been privately told that Mr. Timewell, one of the commissioners of the navy, was one of the owners, I had left him to the mercy of the sea, as I found him ; but that consideration engaged me to order the Captain of the Panther to take care of him ; to whose letter I refer you, for your more particular information, how the damages happened, which he pretends the ship got by the Panther running aboard her.

It was the 14th of December when this ship came into my company, and the 27th I got to Gibraltar ; partly with the help of a fair wind, and turning the rest ; and am sure, if the Panther had not had your ship in tow, it would have been impossible for her to have got thither in twice the time. For as we were obliged to turn

into Gibraltar Bay with a westerly wind, it continued so till the minute of my departure from thence, which, if you'll look into the master's journal (if he does not impose upon you) you'll find to be true, or else mine's false. It rarely happens that a *frigate* can turn out of the Straits in the summer ; but I never heard any did it in the winter. If it had been possible, our wants were so great, that I should have endeavoured it. By this account you may plainly see no time was lost, and the minute the wind came easterly, which was on the 6th of January, I left Gibraltar, and ordered a frigate to keep astern to protect your ship and two others that I found at Gibraltar, as far as the Southward Cape. As to the goods you seem to mention is wanting, I cannot tell what you mean ; for the master was satisfied with the quantity of both rice and oil that was taken out : and I am sure they are much honester men whom I entrusted to see the goods weighed and gauged, than the master of yours is ; and if contrary winds, after he left me, made his passage long, and the master has cheated you of any of the loading, I don't see why the *Queen* should be at the loss.

As for my part, since I am so unfortunate to have dealt with a rascal, to preserve Her Majesty's subjects alive, I shan't trouble myself about what you can say to me ; for I did you justice whilst the ship was under my care, and have made report to the Admiralty accordingly ; wherein I have mentioned, that part of the lemons might happen to be damnified, because it rained some part of the time that the oil and rice were taking out ; but I am rather apt to believe that 'twas the length of the voyage that made them perish ; for I was personally present when they were hoisted upon deck, and caused them to be carefully covered with the ship's tarpaulins.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.

Your humble servant,

J. LEAKE.

Sir John's letter to the Prince's secretary was to the same effect, only with regard to the damage the ship received, he says, ' I beg leave to

refer you to Captain Smith of the Panther's letter, that comes herewith, which I dare be positive is very true, and that she was refitted, and within a trifle put in as good condition as she was at first, at the Queen's charge ; and I am sure, if the ship and cargo had entirely belonged to me, I could not have taken more care of her than I did.'

These letters contain a candid relation of the whole matter ; and that to the owners shows a more than common pains to convince them of the injustice of their complaint, which plainly gave him some uneasiness ; knowing with how much care he had conducted that affair, and seen it personally executed, which perhaps no other in his station would have done. And considering the affairs of moment he had always in his mind, and the multiplicity of business attending the management of so large a fleet as he had under his command, it was something extraordinary he was able to give so circumstantial an account as he did, which he was willing to do, to give all the satisfaction that possibly could be expected from him. If he expresses himself something warmly in his letter, it is no more than any person in his station might well show upon such an occasion (being otherwise sufficiently perplexed in his command) to be interrupted in his steady and glorious pursuit of the public service, to answer a trifling complaint of a sorry rascal, in relation to an act done six months before ; and wherein it was obvious, the owners had been cheated by the master, who, nevertheless, joined with him in the pretence of damages sustained, to cheat the public of so much as might make amends for the fraud of the master and a bad voyage. Indeed it seems to be a maxim in trade that to take all advantages of the public

necessity is justifiable, as being no injury to any particular, and therefore the Government ought to pay an extraordinary price for everything. And unhappily anyone acting otherwise is reckoned very scrupulous ; so by force of custom, the very best actions are inverted. This, no doubt, is one cause that deters every honest man from engaging so cheerfully in public affairs as otherwise they would do.

There is another observation, which I cannot help making likewise upon this occasion, and that is, how impossible it is for a commander to give satisfaction to the merchants. For gain being the first mercantile principle, everything becomes subservient to it. They may extol themselves as useful members of society (the meanest offices are most useful); and [claim] that they bring wealth to the nation, (the source of vice and luxury). But no honour can be derived from wealth or from trade ; both arising from the sordid desire of gain, diametrically opposite to public spirit, as proceeding wholly from the motive of self-interest, the Alpha and Omega of all their actions. How impossible therefore must it be to give satisfaction to such men ! Who, without knowing or considering the circumstances of fleets, or of the public affairs which direct their proceedings, are sure to raise a clamour upon the least surmise, if they sustain a loss ; judging every thing by the touchstone of their private interest. This has appeared to be the case in almost all the complaints of the merchants. No wonder then if they have so seldom met with redress upon their complaints ; and that our admirals and the traders have so little affected each other.¹

¹ Have borne each other so little affection.

CHAPTER XIV¹

The city of Alicante besieged and taken by the bravery of the seamen, and the Castle obliged to capitulate : with proceedings in relation to the Duke of Savoy.

AFTER the surrender of Carthagená, the fleet, having watered at Altea, proceeded the 24th of June for Alicante ; and in their way thither the next day they were joined by the Enterprise from Lisbon ; and, the 26th, by the Rye from England bringing Sir John letters and some orders from the Queen and His Royal Highness, as has been related in the last chapter. The same day, about three in the afternoon, he arrived with the fleet in the road of Alicante.

This famous city and noted port of Spain is in the kingdom of Valencia, and maintains a great commerce for wine and fruits. The town lies at the bottom of the bay at the foot of a rocky mountain, whereon stands a castle, by its situation almost impregnable. Immediately upon his arrival, Sir John sent a summons to the Governor of the city, and another to General Mahoni, who, as we observed before, having been disappointed in his design of securing Carthagená with 500 horse, had thrown himself into Alicante. The summons to the Governor was as follows :

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 24th June to 26th August, 1706.

SIR,—I am come into this bay with the fleet under my command to give your Excellency an opportunity to shew your loyalty and zeal to King Charles III by delivering up the city and forts under your command to the forces I bring with me, to protect and keep the same for the use of His Catholic Majesty ; and am in hopes your Excellency will consult your own good, that of the inhabitants of the city, and the repose of your country, so far as to embrace this proposal, and not oblige me to use those treatments that must be expected from the fleet. And if you stay till the place be invested with the army under the command of the Earl of Peterborough, it may be then out of my power to treat your Excellency and the inhabitants with that respect which I have always had for the Spanish nation, and shall [have] in particular for those that will without compulsion show their loyalty and affection for King Charles III, their undoubted monarch, whom God preserve.

J. LEAKE.

The Summons to General Mahoni.

SIR,—Since my coming with the fleet to be so near a neighbour to you, you may easily judge the occasion ; and therefore have only to acquaint you that it's yet in your power to make such terms with me, for yourself and the inhabitants of the city, as may be agreeable to you both ; but if it's deferred till the army under the Earl of Peterborough sits down before the place, it may then be out of my power to save either of you.

Sir,

Your humble servant,

J. LEAKE.

About five o'clock, the boat that had been with these summonses returned with a message only, that they would send off an answer by one of their boats, which accordingly was brought about seven at night, viz.,

SIR,—I have just now received the letter you honoured

me with this day. I give you many thanks for the concern you seem to be in for me and for this city. As for our being so near neighbours, I am nothing at all surprised at it, having expected you sooner. As for what you propose, I think I cannot give you a more ample idea of my resolution, than that which you may see in my answer to the Earl of Peterborough, whereof I send you enclosed a copy : whereupon you may take your measures. If there be anything agreeable to you in this town, you may command it, &c.

DANIEL MAHONI.

The enclosed copy of the letter to Lord Peterborough was as follows :—

MY LORD,—I have received this moment the letter your Lordship did me the honour to write to me the third of this month from Valencia. There is a change in the affairs of Spain since we met in Murviedro,¹ but not in me in the least ; neither can any resolution of state in any kingdom produce the least alteration in my principles. The King of Spain has confided to my trust the defence of these frontiers, with much better circumstances than your Lordship seems to be informed of. I have very good troops and faithful militia. I have distributed them in posts, commanded by experienced and gallant officers ; most of them subjects to the King my master, who I am sure will follow my example ; which shall be to dispute the ground from post to post, from Montesa² to Cadiz. And if fortune of war will have it so (as we must submit to superior Power) I would neither have them nor me to fall into the hands of a more generous General than your Lordship. Villena,³ and all other posts, have orders from me to resist to the last extremity ; which done, they do but their duty, which entitles them

¹ ' Monviedro,' author's spelling. The town is about seventeen miles north of Valencia.

² Forty miles north of Alicante, and about the same distance south-south-west of Valencia.

³ About twenty miles north of Alicante.

to the usual treatment commonly given to men of honour by such generals as your Lordship. The King of Spain is not the first monarch that has been forced to abandon his capital for a time, in order to return more glorious ; which he will do in less time than his ill-affected subjects are inclined to believe. But I am sure your Lordship is not of that opinion,¹ being better informed of the state of affairs in Europe ; and though it were otherwise, I am resolved to die, or if it be possible, to be the last man in Spain in arms for him. I can assure your Lordship, there is no man in or out of it that is with a more perfect esteem and respect than

I am, &c.

DANIEL MAHONI.

The next day Sir John called a council of war to consider of the present situation of affairs before Alicante, and the orders he had received from the Queen and His Royal Highness. Upon this occasion Her Majesty's repeated orders of the 14th ultimo for transporting succours into Italy (for the service of the Duke of Savoy) having been read and considered ; as also Mr. Burchett's letter to Sir John of the 13th ultimo, intimating that the ships of the Turkey merchants trading to Smyrna and Alexandretta ² would probably be all that month coming from those places ; and that His Royal Highness recommended it to him to give them what assistance and protection he could, without interrupting the other services under his care ; and Sir John having represented the summonses he had sent to the city of Alicante and their answer : it was resolved by the council of war, on the subject

¹ Viz. of Philip V's disaffected subjects. General Mahoni means to say that Lord Peterborough's knowledge of the international situation must convince him that the cause of the French candidate will eventually triumph. His taste for sarcasm is somewhat better than his syntax.

² 'Scanderoon,' author.

of the Duke of Savoy, that the resolution they had taken at their councils of the 28th and 30th ultimo were all they could answer in that case ; unless they should receive a second resolution of the King of Spain and the Lord Peterborough, upon this last order, for sparing of land forces for the assistance of the Duke of Savoy ; Sir John having sent copies of the late order to His Majesty and the Lord Peterborough. With relation to the Turkey fleet, it being uncertain where to meet them, not knowing their orders, or where they had appointed their rendez-vous ; it was resolved that when they should have notice where they were, or if they should join the fleet, to come to a further resolution what number of ships might be convenient to strengthen their convoy to see them out of the Straits' mouth, or further, if there should be occasion. And having considered what service the fleet could do towards reducing the city of Alicante, since the troops and militia were not yet come, which the Earl of Peterborough gave them hopes he would send to co-operate with the fleet, it was their opinion that there were not forces sufficient in the fleet of themselves to land and besiege the town, who, they found upon summons, were resolved to defend it to the last extremity, and by all intelligence were prepared accordingly ; and that to cannonade and bombard the town with a few shells they had (in two bomb-vessels) until some forces should appear to invest it by land, would be of little effect ; and therefore it was not thought reasonable to spend the ammunition, which they might want for a better service. And [it was] resolved not to undertake the town as yet, but to continue in the bay, or off of the place, till they should receive the Earl of Peterborough's

resolutions ; and that a frigate should be sent immediately to his Lordship with a copy of this council of war ; which was accordingly done.

The fleet remained in this inactive state, waiting for the land-forces and the Lord Peterborough's resolution. The 28th, Sir John received a letter from his Lordship at Valencia, dated the 7th of July, N.S., in relation to the other grand affair under consideration ; that is, for the succouring the Duke of Savoy. In this letter he says the King of Spain had been pleased to write him very uncertain and indeterminate letters, recommending in general the service of the Duke of Savoy, and expressing his desires that he should be relieved, if it could be done without exposing his service in Spain ; that his Lordship desired their opinion whether, in the present uncertainty of affairs, they thought it proper the fleet should send a squadron, or sail in a body up the Straits with a weak, and perhaps insignificant relief, or wait a little till the arrival of Sir Clowdisley Shovell, till they knew what certainties were to be depended upon from Madrid, and what forces or orders Sir Clowdisley should bring from England. ' I do not in the least doubt,' says he, ' but [that] my opinion will concur with that of the council of war upon this occasion ; and as soon as I receive it, if it be any satisfaction to you, I shall remit in writing my thoughts, which I am sure cannot but agree, in all probability, with yours.'

By this it seems his Lordship (who had been so zealous in all characters and capacities to assist the Duke of Savoy), now the King of Spain had in some measure consented to it, was for postponing that service till the arrival of Sir Clowdisley, whom his Lordship had declared some time before he did not expect, and private letters

assured,¹ was upon another service.² But his Lordship, however, would have his opinion to come from the Admirals, rather than appear to be his own; and when that was done, probably he might agree to it, or make what other use of it he pleased. But this proposition was as weak as it was treacherous. For how could he hope to betray the Admirals into so unadvised a resolution, when they had all along acted in this affair with the greatest caution, avoiding anything that might influence either way? Wherefore the council of war, which Sir John called the same day upon this letter, very justly showed their resentment to his Lordship's proposals by coming to the following resolutions: that, if the forces could be spared to succour His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, the whole fleet should proceed with them; but since so much time had been lost in succouring His Highness, and the Earl of Peterborough not having been pleased to give his opinion clearly in any of his letters upon that subject, it was their opinion that the relieving the Duke of Savoy was of the greatest importance; and, as they had in their late councils of war on that subject expressed their readiness to go with the fleet to transport such forces as could be spared from the King of Spain's service, yet are³ of opinion that if the relief sent now to the Duke of Savoy, be, as the Lord

¹ By private letters was assured . . .

² In his letter to Sir John, July 13, N.S.: "I have no authentic accounts of any forces with Sir Clowdisley Shovell, and by what I hear from private letters I have reason to believe those ships and forces with him are designed for other services. And I am apt to believe we shall see no more ships of force in these seas this campaign; as I told you when I saw you aboard" (which was a month before).—*Author's Note.*

³ They were.

Peterborough says in his letter, weak and perhaps insignificant, they wait a little time till they know what certainties are to be depended upon ; or till the arrival of Sir Clowdisley Shovell, or the squadron from Holland, which is hourly expected. And the same day these resolutions were sent to his Lordship.

The next day the Exeter was ordered to cruise off of the place ; the Winchester sailed for Valencia, and a Dutch frigate to Carthagena ; and Sir John discharged several Genoese ships that had been detained on suspicion of having French effects on board. And the 30th, he dispatched the Enterprise for Lisbon with his letters to Mr. Secretary Hedges, the Prince's secretary, and his Excellency Mr. Methuen. That day he received a letter from the Earl of Peterborough of the same date with the former, 'loaded,' as his Lordship says, 'with good news, and none bad but the resolution he feared the King was taking, of being two months in going to Madrid by Aragon, which everybody opposed to their utmost. I am in doubt,' says he, 'whether something might not be offered from the fleet to the King. If anything come from the Admirals or council of war, you may depend I will concur in it, and sign it.' As to the affairs of Alicante he only says, 'I have left full powers with Gorges to concur with councils of war.' To this letter Sir John returned the following answer :—

PRINCE GEORGE, *July 3, 1706.*

MY LORD,—I have communicated your Excellency's of the 7th instant, N.S., to the Flag Officers and Captains, who are of opinion that nothing can be offered from us to the King to make him alter his measures from his journey to Madrid ; not knowing what secret reasons His Majesty has to induce him to the same. I have wrote

to Brigadier Gorges, but have had no answer as yet ; nor is it possible for us to go forward with the siege of this place with those few marines we have left (which are not 600) unless he comes to our assistance. None of the letters I have received mention anything of Sir Cloudisley Shovell, or Admiral Allemonde ; but sure it cannot be long before they arrive, or send us some advice.

I am, &c.

J. LEAKE.

The same day a Genoese was sent in by the Canterbury, on suspicion of having French effects on board ; and the 4th the Hampton Court sailed for Carthagen, and the Antelope to cruise off of Alicante.

In the meantime a party of militia took possession of the Convent of St. Facie without the town, and blocked up the city by land ; whilst Major-General Mahoni was preparing for a vigorous defence, and for that purpose cleared the city of all the useless persons. And encouraged by the delays on our part for want of land-forces to besiege the place, he resolved to attempt to plunder the Convent of St. Facie, in the possession of the militia only, which shut him up ; being no doubt informed how few marines were in the fleet to assist them. But Don Alvaro Seorgia,¹ the commanding officer of the militia, having got intelligence of his design the 4th instant, sent notice to Sir John, desiring he would reinforce him with some marines, to prevent the mischief that might attend it ; not only by robbing the said convent, but the inhabitants near that place : and [he added] that he had 200 good men that were in want of fire-arms, which he desired to be supplied with from the fleet. This was done the

¹ ' Scorgia,' author's spelling.

next morning ; and likewise 300 English and 100 Dutch marines were landed, in expectation of the arrival of Brigadier Gorges with the troops that were drawing that way. But this would not have had the good effect to prevent Mr. Mahoni's attempt, if Sir John had not upon the receipt of the letter at midnight given directions for the boats of the fleet, manned and armed, to row alongshore the next morning, as if something was intended on that side ; whereby Mahoni, who was even then in motion to put his design in execution, was obliged to stay in the town (which had taken the alarm) to keep all quiet there.

July the 7th, the Winchester came into the fleet from Valencia, having 150 dismounted dragoons on board for the service of Carthagea, which Sir John dispatched thither that evening. By this ship he received a letter from the Earl of Peterborough, of the 13th, N.S., in answer to the resolutions taken in the council of war of the 28th of June, which had nettled his Lordship. He complains that the affair of succouring the Duke of Savoy was referred back from the King to him in such a manner as plainly designed to make him accountable to the world, and to the Duke of Savoy. And as a convincing proof the King depended upon it, he could not think it advisable.¹ The Count de Zavillac was coming from Court to solicit the Admirals to an expedition against the islands of Majorca and Port Mahon. That for himself he was in all characters and capacities for assisting His Highness. That by the detachments he had made, there remained with

¹ This obscure sentence appears to mean, 'The very fact that the King felt himself dependent upon the troops which it was proposed to send into Italy seemed to Peterborough a convincing reason for keeping them in Spain.'

him at Valencia but 2500 English foot.¹ That a less number would be very insignificant for Italy, the remaining part very insignificant there; for which reason he desired the King that he might embark the whole. That to give a clear opinion as to what related to the subject-matter of this late council of war, he was entirely of opinion with those gentlemen that composed it in every point; as likewise of the other, not to waste bombs, powder and shot, till the Admirals could be apprised of the land-forces, and in what condition they and the country were to act in conjunction with them for the siege of Alicante. That in what related to the expedition to Italy, he entirely agreed with the last clause of the council of war; and left it to their consideration, whether, as he had represented it, the whole was not perhaps a weak and insignificant succour for the Duke of Savoy; and whether that country² was in a condition to be left without troops. As to what related to the present services upon the coasts; Brigadier Gorges with four regiments of foot and 200 horse, was marching towards Alicante. That he should be very well satisfied if we could have the town; doubting, whether it was a proper time or season to expose men. That he was informed the castle did not command the town, and, if so, the enemy being blocked up and kept from pillaging the country was almost of as much advantage as the castle. That he was afraid of exposing the men in those intolerable heats. That these were the best precautions he could take, being obliged to march with the

¹ Though his Lordship had then actually under his command in Spain, 13 English battalions and 4 regiments of dragoons.—*Impartial Inquiry*, fol. 139. *Author's Note*.

² Spain.

horse towards Madrid¹; but should be ready to return to the sea-coast, when either a fleet arrived, or any other service required his presence.

This clear opinion of his Lordship's made the matter just as doubtful as before. He concurs with the opinion of the council of war; but, instead of giving his own, proposes a question; which manifestly discovers his inclination for not going to Italy; though he at the same time declares how much he was for going thither, only to amuse the admirals, and extort from them an opinion agreeable to his own, and thereby to make them accountable for that undertaking: and because, as he complains, the King had thrown the difficulty upon him, he was willing to throw it upon Sir John. As to the siege of Alicante, he does not seem to approve of that, for fear of exposing the men: and though he was going himself to Madrid, he would come back on the least occasion: so that, if his opinion was not clear, the case was very clear that his Lordship did not intend to go to Italy, nor do anything in Spain; and had taken measures to preserve the fleet in the same inactive state.

The day after the receipt of this extraordinary letter, Sir John having called a council of war, it was their unanimous opinion upon the proposition (whether the whole of the 2500 men with him be not perhaps a weak and insignificant succour for the Duke of Savoy, and whether this country be in a condition to be left without troops) that

¹ These obligations however did not make him march to Madrid, neither could the Catholic King prevail with my Lord to join him, in order to go directly thither. At length he joined the Portuguese army at Guadalaxara, but not till the sixth of August; so that the succouring the Duke of Savoy, and the march to Madrid were made use of to frustrate each other.—*Author's Note.*

the country was not yet in a condition to be left without troops, the enemy being still in arms and in possession of several places : and, as for sending troops to the succour of the Duke of Savoy, they were of opinion that no less forces than what Her Majesty appointed by her orders of the 2nd and 14th of April last (which was three or more regiments) could be of any service to His Royal Highness of Savoy. This opinion of the council of war he enclosed in the following letter of the 8th of July :—

MY LORD,—Yesterday the Winchester arrived, and brought me your Excellency's letter of the 13th instant, N.S. The same evening I dispatched her with the Dragon to Carthagená. Next morning I laid your Excellency's letter before a council of war ; the result of which I send here enclosed by the Monk, who convoys the two ships with officers, baggage, &c. that came this morning from Gibraltar : and there's likewise come, by the same convoy from that place, four corn and ordnance storeships. I shall be glad to know (as I have already desired in two letters) what your Excellency will please to have done with them ; for the corn is almost perished already. If there be no occasion for it at Valencia, I believe it may not be amiss to unlade at Carthagená ; for that place may have occasion for it, if we don't succeed here. And as for the ordnance storeships, if there be no occasion for any part of their loading at Valencia, I believe they may remain with the fleet till we see how the campaign ends. I am very sorry the corn ships, &c., have been detained so long at Valencia, being a place, in my opinion, not safe for any ships to remain at, unless upon absolute necessity. For there is neither safety from the enemy, if they should attempt to come with a small squadron that way ; nor good anchorage ; which most of them, that were lately with me there have experienced, by their loss of anchors and spoiling of cables ; and therefore you'll give me leave to beg that your Excellency will not only let the ship that comes now, but those

that have been there so long, be dispatched and sent from thence as soon as possible. I have received two letters from Brigadier Gorges, who is within four leagues of this place, and expect him hourly. But those ships that came from Gibraltar bring no news either of Sir Cloudisley Shovell or Admiral Allemonde.

I am, &c.

J. LEAKE.

The land-forces being now arrived within four leagues of Alicante, Brigadier Gorges, who commanded them, advanced before, in order to consult with Sir John upon the operations of the siege; and the 9th he came on board the Prince George, and acquainted him with the state of the troops under his command, which were not above 1300 foot, and 150 Spanish horse; and [said] that it was his opinion that the siege was not to be undertaken with less than 3000 men of regular troops. For the militia which were about 2000 he had no dependence upon for any service they could do him. And the Brigadier doubted whether his orders were sufficient to warrant his undertaking the siege. Whereupon Sir John summoned a council of war, to consider whether with the forces the Brigadier had and the assistance the fleet could give, it was practicable to undertake the siege of Alicante. But the Brigadier not being willing to give his opinion, upon this occasion, but in concert with the Field Officers, they could not come to a final resolution. The fleet were not able to supply them with forces to make up the number required; so that after having waited fourteen days for troops to besiege the place, it seemed impracticable to attempt it till the Lord Peterborough should send an additional number to reinforce them.

The 10th, Brigadier Gorges held a council of

war of land-officers upon the siege of Alicante ; and it was their opinion that as by all accounts the garrison of Alicante consisted of 2500 men, whereof between 700 and 1000 were regular troops, they could not attack the town with those forces they had at present, being but 1300 effective men ; but that if the fleet could make up 3000 English and Dutch in rank and file, besides gunners, matrosses,¹ and other artificers to work in the batteries, and supply them with all necessaries requisite for the siege, they would undertake it ; notwithstanding they had no engineer but Colonel Petit nor money to pay the workmen.

The next day Sir John going on board the Leopard, went to Luga Nova, for the better opportunity of consulting with the land-officers. Here he held a council of war on board the Leopard upon the opinion of the Field Officers the day before. And it was unanimously resolved to reinforce them with all the marines in the fleet, which were about 800 men ; as likewise with guns, gunners, matrosses, artificers, and all other necessaries the fleet could furnish them with ; and 500 seamen to do duty with the army for carrying on the siege ; and that when my Lord Peterborough sent the regiment of foot which he designed for Carthagenæ, the marines should be withdrawn from thence, and joined to the troops that should besiege Alicante ; but for money there was none in the fleet. As soon as the council of war had made these resolutions and Sir John had communicated the same to the land-officers, he weighed from Luga Nova, and returned to the fleet the same night.

¹ The Dutch equivalent of *matelot* ; used here of the soldiers set to help the gunners in an artillery train.

The 13th, the Exeter and Leopard came in from cruising in order to put their marines on board other ships, to assist at the siege of Alicante ; the former whereof sailed the next day to cruise off of that place. The Hampton Court and a Dutch man-of-war likewise arrived from Carthagera ; and the Royal Anne sailed in order to put her sick men ashore at Altea, and bring back those that were recovered. The 15th Sir John held a court martial on Lieutenant Brierwood for fighting Captain Moneypenny his commander, whom he had challenged, because he confined him for neglect of duty ; and likewise to enquire into the occasion of a seaman's death, drowned at Lisbon. The person accused to have been the occasion of it was acquitted, and the Lieutenant dismissed the service. The next day the Canterbury arrived from cruising, and the Panther from Valencia with the unladen transports and a regiment of foot for Carthagera. But the Panther being in want of provisions, Sir John directed the Leopard to proceed immediately with them to that place, with orders to Sir John Jennings upon their arrival to come from thence, and bring with him the marines that were in garrison there, to assist at the siege of Alicante ; with further directions to the Captain of the Leopard, as soon as he had seen the convoy in safety to Carthagera and delivered these orders, then to proceed to Valencia, to bring some money from thence, to subsist the forces under Brigadier Gorges.

The next day Sir John sent for the Brigadier, who coming on board the 18th to consider with him further concerning the siege, he acquainted him that it was all the Admirals' opinions as well as his own that the siege should be carried on directly. Whereupon the Brigadier held a

council of land-officers the same day, and agreed to undertake the siege. The following day the Royal Anne returned from Alicante, and the Monk and Fubbs Yacht arrived in the fleet from Valencia; the latter bringing Sir John some letters from the King of Spain and the Earl of Peterborough.

Those from His Catholic Majesty were as follows:

SIR,—I wish the expedition of Alicante, wherein you are at present engaged according to your last letters, may end as well as that of Carthage. And whereas that affair of Italy, particularly of the Duke of Savoy, has been most of all at my heart, I should have been very willing that my intentions, which I heretofore declared to the Earl of Peterborough, had been effectually put in execution. But as the ministers at present with me are of opinion that the said succours would now be either useless or too late, they judge it to be more for my service and the common cause that without going for Italy and embarking a part of the troops, the fleet continue to act on the coast of Spain. Above all, the enemy are going to join all their forces; [so] that my Lord Galway desires us to come and join him with what troops we can get together in these parts, there being some apprehensions that the enemy designs to wait the success of a battle, before they will leave me in quiet possession of Spain. My former declaration, that the fleet should go with a detachment of the troops embarked towards the coast of Savoy, was also made upon the hopes of the arrival of Sir Clowdisley Shovell into the Mediterranean; and those troops, which he had on board his squadron, should have made good such as had been destined to succour the Duke of Savoy. But the last letters from England, leaving me under an uncertainty whether that squadron may come into the Mediterranean or undertake some other expedition on the coast of France in the Ocean,¹ the said ministers have judged that under

¹ On the Atlantic coast of France.

these circumstances I ought not to hazard my affairs in Spain, to send a small succour to the Duke of Savoy ; which notwithstanding, would either be too late or of very little use. After you have happily finished the expedition of Alicante, I promise myself from your zeal that you will undertake that of the islands ; reserving the action of Cadiz for the last : in which port it seems to me the fleet may continue the winter more commodiously than at Mahon. When I arrive at Madrid, my first care shall be to be beforehand with all such dispositions as may facilitate the conquest of that important city, if by that time it does not of itself submit to me. Whereupon I pray God have you under His holy Protection, and be assured of my perfect esteem and acknowledgment.

CHARLES.

SARAGOSSA, *July 20, N.S., 1706.*

The other letter received at the same time from His Catholic Majesty :—

SIR,—Having this morning writ you the annexed letter, an officer came to me this moment being with all diligence sent from my Lord Galway, who brings me the good news that the army of the allies are advanced as far as Guadalaxara ; having obliged that of the enemy to retire towards Alença. The same officer also reports that the siege of Turin is raised. I thought good to impart to you this agreeable news to the end that, being free from any apprehensions for the affair of the Duke of Savoy, you might with better assurance undertake the expedition of the islands. And I recommend to you in this and in all other things a prompt execution of your designs ; because it is reported the enemy will make a great detachment from Italy to succour Spain. 'Tis therefore of the last consequence to endeavour to become master of those islands and the other places, before the enemy may be able to throw in any succours. Whereupon I pray God have you under His holy protection, and be assured of my perfect esteem and goodwill.

CHARLES.

The Earl of Peterborough's letter received with these was dated from Valencia, the 26th of July, N.S. 'I send you enclosed,' says he, 'the letters which give you to understand that the King expects I should bring more forces from the sea side, when 'twere highly necessary to send more thither.' [Further he intimated] that in his own opinion and desires he was very much for the attempt upon Alicante and inclined that way perhaps to a fault, had the King less plainly declared against it; but the cruel delays had given the enemy such hopes and heart that it was plain our troops would meet with the utmost resistance, and Alicante was abandoned by all that would be their friends, and was become the refuge of all those that Basset's¹ cruelties had made desperate; that when he sent the troops towards Alicante, it could only be with a design to try if the sight of troops could incline them to give it up; for the letters from the Queen, and those repeated ones he had from the King, left no room for other thoughts than those of embarking the troops for Italy; so that the road of Valencia being so very bad, it was reasonable to send them towards Alicante or Altea, in order to the safety of the ships and better embarkation of the men; that he thought of ordering a regiment to march immediately to Castile,² if the siege of Alicante was judged for the present unseasonable. And for the islands, no land-forces could be expected, but those only to be restored which belonged to

¹ Juan Basset-y-Ramos, a military engineer and native of Valencia. He had signalized himself by most spirited enterprises in the service of King Charles; and by the capture of his native city at the close of 1705 had earned the malignant jealousy of Peterborough. See also INTRODUCTION, *passim*.

² i.e., the camp at Guadalaxara.

the fleet. That the King pressing so much for troops, if the siege of Alicante was not resolved on by a council of war, he would send orders for Mountjoy's regiment to come to Castile. He desired Sir John would transport them by sea in what vessels he thought fit. The letters enclosed, were one from His Catholic Majesty to the Earl of Peterborough of the 20th instant, N.S., and copies of three letters from Mr. Stanhope to the Lord Peterborough, of the 17th, 19th, and 20th, the substance of which are contained in those of His Majesty and his Lordship above-mentioned.

Though his Lordship in his last letter of the 13th instant, N.S., had proposed to the Admirals that the whole of the forces he had with him were a weak and insignificant assistance to send to the Duke of Savoy, and that Valencia was not in a condition to be left without troops (the strongest reasons he could make use of to prevent an expedition to Italy); yet by this letter it seems he had sent the forces to Alicante for no other purpose but to be embarked for Italy; and had only amused the fleet with the design upon Alicante; and accordingly (supposing the Admirals would lay it aside as impracticable) disposes of part of the troops. Notwithstanding his Lordship concurred with the Admirals in the council of war for proceeding to Alicante, promised to order troops to march that way to countenance our naval efforts, and induce them to expect a siege in case of resistance; and unless the service required his marching into Castile, encouraged them to hope he should be in a condition by land to support them himself.

But how impracticable soever his Lordship made the attempt on Alicante to be, the Admirals

were of a different opinion. And Sir John having laid all these letters before a council of war the same day he received them, they unanimously agreed that, considering the zeal some thousands of the Valencians had shown by appearing in arms and their readiness to expose their lives for the service of King Charles, which if abandoned and no attempt made towards the reduction of Alicante, they would unavoidably be exposed to the fury of their enemies (as likewise all that province) that pursuant to¹ the late resolutions taken in councils of war held at sea and land they would use their utmost endeavours to reduce the place to the obedience of King Charles ; and after it was reduced, to consider about the measures necessary to be taken in relation to Majorca and Minorca ; and that the marines at Carthageña should be immediately sent for to assist at the siege ; but this latter part Sir John had given orders to be done three days before. The same day five Dutch men-of-war with some victuallers arrived ; and the next at another council of war it was further resolved to cannonade the town with eight sail of the line, and to reinforce the army with 300 seamen more (if there was occasion), which would make 800.

Pursuant to these resolutions, the 21st, Brigadier Gorges marched from Elche,² and advanced within two miles of the town. At the same time

¹ *Sc.* They unanimously agreed that, if the siege were abandoned and no further attempt were made to reduce Alicante, the thousands of Valencians, who had displayed their zeal and their readiness to risk their lives for King Charles by appearing in arms, would unavoidably be exposed (together with all in that province) to the fury of their enemies. And they therefore voted that pursuant to, &c. &c.

² About fifteen miles south-west of Alicante.

Sir John ordered the signal to be made for landing all the marines in the fleet, which was a blue flag hoisted at his main topmast-head ; whereupon each ship landed their marines pursuant to the disposition that had been made the day before ; and he sent orders to those, that were encamped to the eastward of the town, to march the next morning and join the Brigadier, who encamped that night within a mile of the city. At the same time 800 seamen were landed ; 500 whereof were formed into a regiment, and commanded by Captain Littleton, whom Sir John appointed Colonel for that expedition ; Captain Billingsly [being] Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Fotherby, Major.

At night the Falcon frigate arrived in the fleet from England with a copy of Her Majesty's instructions of the 19th of June (referring to some former Instructions from Her Majesty of the 12th of June) directing five regiments to be sent for succouring the Duke of Savoy (in case the siege of Turin was carried on) to be landed at Oneglia, or other place the Duke of Savoy and he should agree upon ; and [requiring him] to make a detachment of the fleet to Naples, according to instructions from His Royal Highness which Sir John had not yet received, neither was there any copy thereof enclosed. This order therefore of the 19th was to instruct him that the siege of Turin was pushed on with the utmost vigour, and that it was necessary he should press the King of Spain to send three regiments, or so many more as he could spare, to be joined by a proportionable number of the Dutch, pursuant to orders they would receive from the States General by the same packet : and, though he should receive advice Turin was taken, he was neverthe-

less to proceed with the said succours, in case the Duke of Savoy should stand upon the defensive. Accompanying these Instructions, was a letter from Mr. Secretary Hedges of the 12th of June, and another from Mr. Burchett, His Royal Highness's secretary, enclosing a commission, appointing the Earl of Peterborough Joint-Admiral of the fleet, and desiring Sir John would deliver the same to his Lordship, when he had a convenient opportunity so to do; after he had administered to him the oaths and test. By the same conveyance he received a letter from Sir Clowdisley Shovell, acquainting him that he should not come abroad that campaign.

That no time might be lost in communicating these orders to the King and my Lord Peterborough, the very next morning he dispatched the same ship to Valencia with a letter to Prince Lichtenstein, and copies of Her Majesty's Instructions and of some late councils of war, &c., which he desired His Highness would communicate to His Majesty: and acquainting him of his proceedings before Alicante, 'The Earl of Peterborough,' says he, 'can give the best reasons why the siege was not resolved on before; for we were fourteen days at this place before the forces, consisting of about 1300, came. And [even] then the Brigadier that commanded them had not orders sufficient (as he believed) to warrant his going on with the siege, which has occasioned the loss of so much time.' To this letter he soon after received an answer from His Highness, that he had communicated the same to His Majesty, who was very well satisfied therewith; and that he was commanded to signify to him His Majesty's entire approbation that he had, by him, so clearly and fully acquainted

him of the affairs of the fleet, and the orders he had received from the Queen in relation to future expeditions; referring him to the King's own letters to understand his intentions more particularly.

By the Falcon he likewise dispatched a letter to the Lord Peterborough, acquainting him with the proceedings of the fleet before Alicante, and enclosing Her Majesty's Instructions, &c. 'I have likewise received,' says he, 'a commission from His Royal Highness, appointing your Lordship Joint-Admiral of the fleet, but cannot forward it to your Lordship, as you'll see by a copy of part of the secretary's letter that accompanies this. I have received a letter from Mr. Secretary Hedges likewise, which acquaints me that His Royal Highness has sent instructions relating to an expedition to Naples; which I don't well understand, not having received any such. If your Lordship has, you'll please to send me a copy thereof, having sent your Lordship a copy of the secretary's letter. I shall be glad to receive your Lordship's orders about the transports, they being at a considerable charge; and if your Lordship believes there's no occasion for them, 'twould be better to send them away with proper convoys to the places they are to be discharged at: and the Edgar and Pembroke being both very leaky, especially the former, there will be a necessity of sending them home; so that they may take the transports under their convoy, if your Lordship approves of it. Notwithstanding the directions I have from the secretary to detain your Lordship's commission, I shall forward it by Brigadier Hamilton when he leaves this place, if your Lordship desires it; though I could rather wish your Lordship's

affairs would give me¹ leave to come to the Head of the Fleet,² especially, since I have not the good luck to please. I send this by the Falcon to Valencia, with orders to wait there for your Lordship's answer. P.S. I desire your Lordship will give directions what service the fleet shall undertake after this is over. If it be to the islands, though Majorca may declare upon the appearance of the fleet, Port Mahon is not to be got with our marines only.'

This was all he could do in compliance with Her Majesty's Instructions relating to the Duke of Savoy ; and in the meantime [he endeavoured] to keep the fleet in a condition to proceed upon that service, when he had His Catholic Majesty's and the Lord Peterborough's answer ; who he believed by that time to be at Madrid, as he acquainted Mr. Secretary Hedges in his letter which he sent him by the Falcon to Valencia, in order to be forwarded from thence to England.

Before I proceed any further, it will be necessary to say something in regard to the Earl of Peterborough's new commission, appointing him Joint-Admiral, which was brought from England by the Falcon, and Sir John's letter to his Lordship thereupon. It may be remembered, when Sir John arrived so fortunately to relieve the King of Spain in Barcelona, the Earl of Peterborough came off and hoisted the Union Flag on board the Prince George, by virtue of a joint-commission to him and Sir Clowdisley Shovell. As I have shown, his Lordship had no power as Admiral

¹ Thus in author's copy, but the sense of the passage clearly demands 'you' ; and this reading is confirmed by the comments on a later page.

² 'I could rather wish your Lordship's affairs would give you leisure to assume the headship of the fleet. . . .'

from the time Sir Clowdisley left the Straits. But as his Lordship valued himself not a little upon the honour of being invested with the command both of the sea and land forces, he embraced every favourable opportunity to display the flag of his authority. It was no doubt a great mortification to him to have his authority, as Admiral, called in question, and to see how little regard the fleet had shown to the orders his Lordship had taken upon him to give. This perhaps excited him, at the relief of Barcelona, to assume the authority in question.

After the affair of Barcelona, we may remember, his Lordship again hoisted the flag in his passage to Valencia, though Sir John conducted the whole. In the affair of Savoy, it cannot be forgot how much his Lordship was for and against sending the fleet with succours to His Highness ; and at last would have drawn the Admirals in, to have determined the question upon that important affair, to make them answerable for any ill consequences to the King of Spain : but when the Admirals resolved they could not determine that affair, and that his Lordship had not given his opinion clearly in any of his letters upon it ; and thereby threw the whole upon him, his Lordship was very angry to be paid in his own coin. As he lay still in Valencia as General ; so as Admiral he embarrassed every attempt of the fleet, to render them as inactive and useless as the land-forces. Therefore he agreed upon their going to Alicante, as he meant that nothing should be effected ; sent troops (after the fleet had waited fourteen days) without sufficient orders to act ; and was greatly disappointed at Sir John's good fortune (by the way) at Carthagena, without any assistance from the land forces, and feared he

might have the same success at Alicante ; wherein at last he hardly concurred, but from the apprehensions that, if that expedition miscarried, the blame would be wholly imputed to his Lordship. In fine, Sir John's successes were so distasteful to him, and his Lordship's infidelity to the King of Spain had been laid so open by his¹ hearty zeal for His Majesty's service, that he was exasperated against Sir John, and publicly swore he would ruin him. It was for this reason, upon the arrival of the new commission, that he¹ wishes his Lordship would come to the Head of the Fleet, since he² had not the good luck to please. This was a modest rebuke, though a severe one. For the first³ was reflecting upon him for his ignorance and folly in soliciting for, and taking upon himself, an office he was incapable of executing ; and the latter reproached him with his treachery to the King of Spain, for whose success under the fleet he would have been pleased, had he been in His Majesty's interest.

The arrival of this new commission seems, however, to have been some disappointment to Sir John, who flattered himself that they would not have sent it abroad till the conclusion of the campaign ; having received private information to that effect ; which rendered the disappointment the greater. Indeed our ministers at home, after having committed such a monstrous error at first in appointing his Lordship Joint-Admiral, could not now revoke it ; for that, no doubt, would have incensed him, whom they well knew would sacrifice all to his particular resentment. For he would not even submit to his superior officer, my Lord Galway, though Her Majesty

¹ Sir John's.

² Sir John.

³ Clause.

signified her pleasure to have it so ; and the Secretary of State, by the strongest reasons, showed it ought to be so. But his humour prevailed. He would not join the Lord Galway ; and the consequence was the loss of Spain. But they knew Sir John to be of another disposition, and that he would suffer nothing to come in competition with the public service : and, as he had already submitted to the Lord Peterborough as Admiral, under, at least, a doubtful commission, they thought they might venture to satisfy his Lordship's humour, without any danger, especially as the situation of affairs then were in Spain. They knew the campaign would draw towards a conclusion by the time this new commission arrived ; and they apprehended, as they well might, that his Lordship was at Madrid (for everybody thought so) and in that case he would not have been able to have assumed his post as Admiral that campaign, nor indeed have received his commission. It seems likewise to have been so ordered, by sending the commission to Sir John with directions to deliver it to the Lord Peterborough when he had a convenient opportunity after he had administered the oaths to him, so that his Lordship must have come to the fleet to receive it : and it is observable that Mr. Secretary Hedges, in his letter of the 12th of June accompanying Her Majesty's orders of the same date in relation to the Duke of Savoy, touches this affair very tenderly. 'You will observe,' says he, 'that Her Majesty's Instructions are directed to the Earl of Peterborough, and yourself, or either of you on board the fleet ; and since the Earl of Peterborough is in all probability on shore with the King of Spain, and it is not certainly known in what place he is ; and he being the

proper person to consult with the King of Spain for all that relates to the land-forces, you'll please to send Her Majesty's Instructions to him.' By this it seems, though they had sent the Lord Peterborough the commission of Admiral, they thought it not expedient he should be consulted as such, but as General only ; and were under some difficulties for fear Sir John should resent it and injure the public service by referring every thing to his Lordship as Admiral : and therefore they took care after this that all orders should be directed, ' For our right trusty, &c., Charles, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth : and for our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Leake, Kt., or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being of our sea and land forces in Spain and in the Mediterranean.' And the Lord High Admiral's orders run : ' To the Right Honourable Charles, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, Joint-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's fleet, if in the fleet : but if on shore, to Sir John Leake, Kt., Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of Her Majesty's fleet.' But his Highness's orders of August 13, for sending a squadron to the West Indies are directed to Sir John only.

But however,¹ as I have observed, the ministry might think his Lordship was far from the fleet and even at Madrid, and consequently that no inconvenience was likely to happen under this new commission ; it happened unluckily that his Lordship was not at Madrid, nor did intend to go thither. So he readily embraced the opportunity to come to the fleet, and triumph with his new commission ; though he had thereby no greater influence than before ; the executive

¹ Although.

power still resting in Sir John, whose opinion (as to the invalidity of his Lordship's former commission) was sufficiently confirmed by the necessity of this new one. But at the same time it disgusted him to see such partiality in favour of a man that had not, during the whole campaign, taken one step agreeable to the King of Spain's inclination or interest, for fear a bad man should become worse.¹ This widened the breach, and chagrined the whole fleet, who were much attached to Sir John. And had it been the beginning of the campaign, it would have been impossible to have prevented some ill effects. For the case with Sir Cloudisley Shovell was very different, who being equal in power, my Lord could do nothing of himself, and was Admiral but nominally, and till the arrival of this commission he was no other. But that made him principal ; for though called Joint-Admiral, he was thereby empowered to act singly ; an example that it is to be hoped will never be drawn into precedent hereafter.

But to return to the siege of Alicante. The marines of the fleet and 800 seamen having been landed the 21st instant, as has been mentioned, joined the land-forces, and encamped that evening within a mile of the town ; and at night Sir John ordered the bomb-ships to bombard the city. Accordingly they took their station and, between nine at night and two the next morning, threw in 89 shells. The next day he appointed Sir George Byng, with the Shrewsbury, Somerset and Dorsetshire, ships of 80 guns each, and the Revenge, Hampton Court and three Dutch ships, of 70 guns each, to anchor in a line before the

¹ And he feared the Earl's presumption would now become intolerable.

ordered all the boats in the fleet manned and armed under the command of Sir John Jennings to repair alongside that ship, in order to sustain the land forces, or to make an attack upon the place if an occasion should offer. About nine o'clock, the ships by their continual battering the wall next the sea having made a breach at the Round Tower at the west end of the town, and another in the middle of the curtain between the moat and the eastermost bastion; and the land forces that were in possession of the suburbs advancing towards the wall of the town; about fifteen grenadiers, with an officer and a sergeant at the head of them, advanced before the rest to the breach of the Round Tower, without orders for so doing.

Sir John, who could very plainly see what passed on shore immediately ordered Sir John Jennings to land, in order to sustain them. But before that could be done, the party that first advanced were driven back by the enemy. Notwithstanding which, the boats put on shore and landed all their men near the Round Tower. Captain Evans of the Royal Oak mounted the breach directly, and got into the town with two or three boats' crews. Captain Passenger of the Royal Anne went after him, and Captain Watkins of the St. George next to him with a party of seamen. And soon after, Sir John Jennings, with the rest of the seamen and forces that were in possession of the suburbs, followed to sustain them, and led them into the town, secured the posts, and made proper dispositions till the main body of the forces got into the city by the gates, which were opened to them by the seamen.

Major-General Mahoni, who despised our small number of land-forces, and laughed at besieging

a town by sea, was glad to scour up to the castle with a party of horse, to avoid being surprised by the sudden attack of our seamen, leaving them entire possessors of the city. In his way to the castle he was plainly discovered going up the hill from the ships, and was saluted in his retreat thither by several shot, whereby he narrowly escaped, several of his horsemen being killed about him. In this attack we lost very few men on our side ; and our people were so good-natured, that it was believed there was not one person killed when they were in possession of the town ; which rarely happens upon such occasions. Lieutenant Story of the Shrewsbury was killed aboard three days before, and some seamen wounded ; few in the other ships. Colonel Petit was killed in the suburbs by a shot out of a window, as he was viewing the ground for raising a battery against the wall of the town. By all accounts not above thirty men by sea and land were killed, nor above eighty wounded. This was perhaps the most regular attack that ever was made upon a fortified town by sea. For it¹ was invested, bombarded, cannonaded, stormed and taken, by the bravery of our seamen, who mounted a breach thought impracticable ; and all this without any assistance from the soldiers. 'Tis true, the forces on shore blocked up the town by land, and by their countenance were of service ; but they could advance very little by way of siege to reduce the place, during the intolerable heats of that season : and even the bulk of these forces were composed of marines and seamen from the ships. It is therefore to the everlasting honour of the English

¹ More perhaps than on any other occasion the fleet at Alicante comported itself after the style of a regular army. For the town . . .

fleet and Sir John Leake that this enterprise was so happily conducted, and so bravely executed. But it increased the envy and ill-will of the Earl of Peterborough to Sir John ; more especially as it was done contrary to his Lordship's opinion, and even when he had judged the siege impracticable ; and this, with the desire his Lordship had to appear as Admiral with his new commission, was the occasion of bringing him very soon to the fleet.

The following day, after the city of Alicante was taken, a summons was sent to the castle ; but Major-General Mahoni returned answer he would defend it to the last. Whereupon the ships began to batter it, firing now and then a shot, with a good effect against the walls next the sea, though with some difficulty by reason of the high situation. The bomb-vessels likewise played with good success and, in the night of the 28th and 29th, threw at the castle 167 shells ; which now growing scarce, the next day Sir John detached the Winchester and Leopard to the commissary of the ordnance stores at Barcelona, for a supply of nineteen-inch shells with fusees. In the evening he dispatched the Fubbs Yacht, with Brigadier Hamilton for Valencia, by whom he sent the following letter to Brigadier Stanhope, Envoy Extraordinary to His Catholic Majesty, and another to the Earl of Peterborough, relating to the Duke of Savoy and the further operations of the fleet :—

SIR,—The Mary and Medway arrived here last night in nineteen days from Genoa. The captains of them acquaint me that the siege of Turin is continued ; and I shall be impatient to know what resolution is taken at court about succouring that place, pursuant to Her Majesty's Instructions to the Earl of Peterborough and myself, which were brought lately from England by the

Falcon, whom I have sent to Valencia, to forward the said Instructions from thence to his Lordship, and copies thereof to Prince Lichtenstein. I desire you'll please to assure His Majesty that, if the fleet is not employed to go for Italy, the next expedition we shall undertake shall be for the islands, if the Earl of Peterborough can spare the forces that are under Brigadier Gorges' command at this place ; for the marines that are in the fleet are not sufficient to undertake the siege of Port Mahon ; but am in hopes Majorca may declare upon sight of the fleet, without any trouble.

I am, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

That to the Earl of Peterborough was as follows :—

PRINCE GEORGE IN ALICANTE ROAD, *July 28, 1706.*

MY LORD,—The 21st instant, the Falcon arrived here with letters for your Lordship, and Her Majesty's repeated Instructions for sending of succours to Savoy, which I did believe there might be no occasion for, after His Majesty had done me the honour to write me that he had had advice that the siege of Turin was raised. But your Lordship's son in the Medway and Captain Hopsonn in the Mary, arriving here last night in nineteen days from Genoa, give me a quite contrary account ; the siege being continued and the place in great danger. Therefore it must be left to His Majesty and your Lordship to consider of that important affair, the fleet being in a condition to proceed upon that service, or any other your Lordship shall direct. The next morning after the Falcon arrived, I dispatched her to Valencia with the original Instructions, &c., to be forwarded to your Lordship, and hope they are received. The town of Alicante was this morning about nine o'clock stormed and taken ; Mahoni and his party retiring into the castle, which, I hope will not be in his hands long. For the particulars of the siege, your Lordship will please to give me leave to refer you to Brigadier Hamilton, who brings this to your Lordship.

I am, &c.

J. LEAKE.

In the meantime the siege of the castle was vigorously carried on ; and the bomb-vessels, continuing the bombardment, on the 30th and two following days hove in 153 shells. And it having been resolved at a council of war held by Brigadier Gorges and the field-officers of the forces ashore that all the seamen be taken off on board the fleet, except the gunners, matrosses and marines, to avoid their plundering, Sir John ordered them to be withdrawn according to their request, to prevent any misunderstanding and confusion that might happen. And it was agreed at a council of war, the first of August, that, whilst the fleet continued before Alicante, the marines, gunners and matrosses that were left ashore should remain there, to act in conjunction with the land-forces for reducing the castle ; and that they would give what further assistance of cannon and stores from the fleet they should have occasion for, that nothing might be wanting to carry on that service with all possible dispatch.

Soon after this council was over, he was obliged to call another, upon a letter he received from the Conde de Santa Cruz, Governor of Carthage, intimating the King of Spain's order to deliver over to Captain Don Francisco Maria Levento the ship of 36 pieces of cannon, lately taken by Sir John Jennings, and the squadron under his command. But it appearing this ship had a commission and passes from the King of France and the Count de Toulouse, and was fitted out at Toulon, manned with French and Irishmen, and actually the day before she was taken was engaged with some of our men-of-war, but made her escape and got into Carthage, where she was taken by Sir John Jennings ; the council of war thereupon were unanimously of

opinion with Sir John, that she was lawful prize of the Queen of England, and as such they could by no means deliver her up but by the order of Her Majesty. The next day having notice from Brigadier Gorges (by a letter from the Viceroy of Valencia to him) that two French men-of-war and a storeship were at Peñiscola, and as he believed had succours on board and stores for that place, he detached the Antelope and Panther to proceed and cruise off of that place; and the next day ordered the Monk and Essex for six days upon the same service.

The third of August, Sir John believing he might annoy the castle by a ship to the eastward of the town, ordered the Berwick thither to cannonade them on that side; but she was obliged by the enemy's shot to warp farther from the shore, they having disabled her main and foremast. Notwithstanding which, the ships continued to batter the castle with good success, having dismounted the greatest part of their cannon, and beaten down the wall towards the sea.

The 4th, the Northumberland arrived from Carthagena with a transport, and the remaining part of the provisions which had been left in the transports at that place. The same day Sir John received further information from Brigadier Gorges that ten or twelve sail were off of Peñiscola. Whereupon summoning a council of war, he laid before them both the Brigadier's letters; and having acquainted them that upon the contents of the first letter he had dispatched away two ships, and the next day two more to cruise off of that place; it was unanimously their opinion that, if they made a further detachment to go upon that coast, they must take off part of the

marines to man them ; and since it was uncertain whether they were ships or vessels¹ (the latter having often alarmed the people of this country) and being in hourly expectations of orders from Madrid to take on board forces to succour the Duke of Savoy, which service they thought of the greatest consequence, and to which the making a detachment would put a stop till their return ; it was therefore agreed and resolved to send no more ships, till they received a more certain account of the enemy being upon that coast, which they might expect from the ships that were there. In the evening and the following days several of the ships sailed to Altea to water, two or three at a time, that they might be ready in case of any sudden orders to proceed to Italy, or (upon surrender of the castle) to go without loss of time upon any further service.

The 9th in the morning, a new battery was opened and played against the castle ; and Sir John thinking that² a favourable opportunity to make another attempt with some ships to batter the castle on the eastward of the town, ordered the Burford and Grafton of 70 guns each, to go near the shore for that purpose, which they performed with good success ; the bomb-vessels having been directed to throw in some shells at the same time. The following day the Mary and Medway were ordered to cruise off of the Bay of Alicante ; and the Exeter was dispatched to Tunis for a horse to carry to England for His Royal Highness, pursuant to an order he had received some time before.

The 12th, at eleven at night, the Enterprise arrived from Lisbon, bringing His Royal Highness's

¹ Men-of-war or merchantmen.

² This.

order of the 12th of June to the Earl of Peterborough and Sir John Leake, directing them (if it should be the King of Spain's pleasure) to go with, or send a detachment of the fleet before Naples. Upon which a council of war was held the next morning; when having maturely considered these orders, and likewise reconsidered Her Majesty's Instructions of the same date, which were brought from England by the Falcon on the 21st ultimo; also a paper of intelligence concerning the preparations and motions of the French at Toulon; it was unanimously their opinion that nothing could be resolved on in that matter, till Sir John Leake received an answer from the King of Spain and my Lord Peterborough what resolutions they would take in compliance with Her Majesty's Instructions of the 12th of June about succouring the Duke of Savoy, &c. It was therefore resolved to remain there till the answer came, which they might hourly expect by the Falcon from Valencia, where she was sent the 23rd ultimo, with the said Instructions, to be forwarded from thence to His Majesty and my Lord Peterborough: and that whilst they remained there, they would give all possible assistance to the land-forces in reducing the castle of Alicante. This resolution, with a copy of the orders, Sir John dispatched to the Lord Peterborough the same day, by the Enterprise, to Valencia, and copies of the same to Prince Lichtenstein, in these letters acquainting them with the death of Mr. Methuen, Her Majesty's late ambassador at Lisbon (which he was informed of by a letter from Mr. Milner) and that the castle of Alicante held out still; though he hoped in a few days that matter would be determined, all the deserters agreeing they had not water for above eight days. And likewise [he] acquainted

his Lordship that the fleet was victualled but to the 10th of November at short allowance.

The 15th, the *Mary* and *Medway* returned from cruising with two settees they had taken. Two days after Sir John received the following letter from the Earl of Peterborough by land from Valencia.

CAMPO ROBLES, *August 25, 1706.*

SIR,—Though the fatal management of affairs has lost us Spain, at least for the present, which we might have had without a blow, expense, or hazard, though the whole country round rose up against us ; yet one lucky letter came to my hands from you, with some from the Queen, which will bring me with all expedition possible to the fleet. I am glad of your success at Alicante, and the more, because it was owing to the extraordinary mettle of the seamen ; who, as I am informed by Major Rapin, mounted a breach which was thought impracticable, and forced the soldiers upon supporting them. I have given Admiral Wassenauer some particulars of our circumstances, which would have made this letter too long, which he will communicate to you, &c.

You mention in your letter some thoughts of going home ; and I think your expression is, 'since you find you can't please.' I can assure you, Sir, I always had a particular esteem for you, and a desire to please you and serve you, if 'twere in my power, and for that reason freely own, I was a little surprised at some orders of yours, and some discourses I was informed of in the fleet.¹ But I assure you, Sir, I lay very little weight upon them, and should be very sorry that such trifles should create any uneasiness to you, or occasion the absence of so good an officer from the fleet, and desire you to depend upon it, there is nobody more your servant.

¹ These discourses were concerning his Lordship's joint-commission, whether it was in force after Sir Cloudisley Shovell sailed : and all the officers of the fleet agreed it was not, and consequently that he had no power as Admiral, and blamed Sir John for submitting to it.—*Author's Note.*

I thought so little of it, that it was quite out of my head, till the last captain you sent with letters to Valencia told me, if I had any answer to write, I must write them presently, for he could stay for them but eight hours, having orders to wait for my dispatches no longer. I thought it a little abrupt to one who had a commission to command the fleet, and knew another was coming to obviate some difficulties I was told were made. The orders, I was informed, given to those captains that came with the money to Valencia, was to follow mine as far as they should judge it reasonable. The orders of an Admiral submitted to the judgment of private captains was new, and they were not pleased to obey my orders, which perhaps might have secured us Spain; for in those dangerous circumstances, when the King's person was in Barcelona, I desired him to come for Valencia, assuring him I had five clean ships ready that should carry him to Faro, and from thence he might go directly to the head of the Portugal army, which had he done, he would not have committed this fatal fault that has endangered all, but would have been now in Madrid. The Fowey was clean from Algiers; the two ships from Italy, and the two from Lisbon would have made five. These were my motives for those orders to return to Denia, which they did not think fit to obey. But as I told you before, Sir, this was quite out of my thoughts &c. The orders I have received are very positive, and require that the fleet sail as high as Genoa. And I believe measures are taking for the fleet's wintering in the Mediterranean, of which we shall have speedy advice.

Sir,

Your humble servant,

PETERBOROW.

To this letter of his Lordship's, I shall subjoin that of Sir John Leake to His Royal Highness's secretary, in order to justify himself against the charge laid against him, which showed a desire rather than a power to hurt him, by aggravating things of small moment for want of greater.

This letter, with a copy of his Lordship's he dispatched to England the 19th, by a Dutch man-of-war.

SIR,—I hope you received my letter of the 31st ultimo, which I sent by the Rye Galley to England, giving an account of the taking of this place, but the castle holds out still, though I hope in a few days they'll be obliged to surrender for want of water. (*He then acknowledges the receipt of their orders and letters by the Enterprise and that he has sent copies of the councils of war thereupon, &c., since his last letter. He then goes on.*)

On the 17th instant I received a letter from the Lord Peterborough, a copy of which comes herewith, as likewise of another that was sent to Admiral Wassenaer; and believe it necessary to say something in answer to some part of his Lordship's letter to me (concerning which he was never pleased to take notice of to me before).

His Lordship seems to complain of the Monk's sudden departure from Valencia. I think fit in my own justification to assure you that when I sent that ship with letters to his Lordship, I did not in the least doubt but his Lordship was upon his march¹ to Madrid. Believing then her stay would be unnecessary, I gave her Captain, Morris, no orders for staying; for besides the conveniency of a safe and speedy conveyance by land, ships are constantly going to and from that place to the fleet. I likewise send you copies of the orders, that I gave to the captains of those ships that were sent with the money in February last from Lisbon; and though they did not positively

¹ Sir John might well believe my Lord was upon his march to Madrid, when the King of Spain had used such pressing instances to his Lordship to go thither, His Majesty, so long before as June 26, being on his way thither, and my Lord perfectly at liberty to have joined him. But being abandoned by the said Lord, [His Catholic Majesty] was forced to take the way to Saragossa. And his Lordship did not join the Portuguese army till August 6, at Guadalaxara.—*Impartial Inquiry*, pp. 147, 149; and *Count Gallas's Memorial to the Queen*, August 31, 1706.—*Author's Note*.

direct them to obey my Lord, yet you'll find, if any such services as his Lordship mentions had been proposed to them, they had power enough to have complied therewith, as well as to go, after the money was landed, to Algiers with a letter from his Lordship. And the reasons the captains gave me, when they joined me, why they did not call at Denia as his Lordship had directed them, were that, when they got over upon the coast, they met with strong easterly winds, that put them by their sails, and drove them to leeward of that place ; and, knowing that I had not two clean ships besides themselves, they thought it would be most for the service to make the best of their way to me, which they did ; and joined me at a time when I had most occasion for them ; which was after I had been disappointed of meeting the galleons, and was going towards Gibraltar, in order to proceed to the relief of Barcelona.

I shall always have an esteem for his Lordship's friendship, and have endeavoured for it as much as possible ; and to avoid all disputes, have submitted to several things which I think I was not obliged to, having always been rather willing to suffer myself than that the service should. But when I was credibly informed that his Lordship threatened my ruin (for what reason I cannot imagine) I could not avoid saying less than I did in my letter to him of the 22nd, ultimo, a copy of which comes herewith. I could say a great deal more ; but I shall give you no further trouble at this time, only tell you, that I shall always be very ready to answer any complaints his Lordship can make against me : and hope His Royal Highness intends me the favour to order me home this winter, my own private affairs very much requiring my presence there, &c.

J. LEAKE.

This letter contains a full and modest reply to his Lordship's charge, who seems to have forgot that he was not Admiral at that time, or at least, that his authority was questioned as such by the King of Spain and the whole fleet ;

and that Sir John permitted his Lordship to act under his joint-commission, till Her Majesty's pleasure was known. He surely forgot this, when he stood so much upon his punctilio as Admiral. It is true, in the orders of the Monk, there is no particular directions to follow his Lordship's, neither was there any occasion ; for if he was Admiral, he could command any ship, notwithstanding any former orders. And as to the other two ships, what his Lordship urges was untrue, for they had a power to follow his orders, and he did give orders to the Panther accordingly ; which her Captain pursued as far as he was able ; and by the same authority he gave those orders, he might have given others ; so that the ground of the complaint seems only to have been that they were not particularly directed to follow his Lordship's orders ; which, for want of knowing the practice of the navy, and jealousy of not having a due respect paid him as Admiral, under his doubtful commission, he piqued himself upon. But had these orders been indeed as his Lordship represented, he might have remembered they were agreeable to the Instructions himself and Sir Clowdisley gave to Sir John Leake, which were to follow his Lordship's directions, no further than should be advisable ; which would have been very absurd, if it had been advisable to put all ships under his Lordship's directions ; and to general Instructions, all particular orders, as far as may be, are to correspond. As to the loss of Spain, which his Lordship would insinuate as the consequences of this, it is so ridiculous, that it hardly deserves a serious answer. It may with more truth be asserted that had such a design as his Lordship proposed to execute with these ships, taken place, it would have been

the loss of Spain ; and will appear very absurd, when we may remember (in what has been related of the relief of Barcelona) the King of Spain could not be prevailed upon to leave that city, by the persuasions of his best friends ; much less by his Lordship ; who, upon that occasion, His Majesty seemed to have had very little regard to. As Sir John therefore had not disputed the command with his Lordship, he declined any further controversy, and very prudently transmitted all the letters and orders relating to it to England, as the most effectual means to justify himself and expose his Lordship ; and he took this favourable opportunity to desire to be ordered home.

The 19th, the Essex and Monk returned from their cruise off of Peñiscola, not having heard any thing of the twelve men-of-war, said to have been off of that place. And the Canterbury was ordered to cruise off Cape Martine for six days. During this time the siege of the castle continued, and the 22nd the ships and batteries on shore, having entirely dismounted the enemy's cannon, and the garrison being in want of water, Sir¹ Daniel Mahoni sent to capitulate. Whereupon all hostilities ceased, and Brigadier Gorges having consulted with Sir John Leake, the capitulations were agreed upon and signed by General Mahoni and Brigadier Gorges, the 24th. By these capitulations it was agreed that the castle should be delivered up four days after, if competent succour did not arrive before : that the garrison should march out, drums beating and colours flying, with four pieces of brass cannon and two mortars ; the soldiers to carry what they could upon their backs, and no officer's baggage to be searched ;

¹ *Sic.*

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and some to be allowed to march out with the garrison disguised: deserters on both sides to be treated as the rest; that the garrison should be transported to Cadiz, or Rosas in Catalonia; and if the ships should not be ready at the end of the fourth day to transport them, the garrison to stay in the upper part of the castle till they were ready (after which Sir John Leake gave his word to send them away to the place appointed without delay, and the sick and wounded to be taken care of and transported when they were able); the prisoners taken on either side to be set at liberty without ransom; the officers and particular persons in the castle to be allowed thirty days to dispose of their effects, with carriage and passports if necessary; and that two general officers were to have passports by land; that persons of whatsoever degree should have liberty to go with the garrison, or to return to their respective homes without molestation, except to the city of Murcia.

There were found in the castle (notwithstanding what deserters had declared) one month's water and two months' provisions; and it might have held out till the former had been expended, if they had not disagreed amongst themselves. For all the batteries that were raised had no effect upon the wall to make a breach; the situation of the place rendering it almost impregnable. But the continued cannonading from the ships, as well as from the batteries, and the coehorn mortars playing upon them day and night, killed and wounded them a considerable number of men; and the best part of the garrison being Neapolitans, of which a considerable number were officers, they pressed Mr. Mahoni to surrender, and at last spoiled the water, in order to oblige him to do so.

Pursuant to the articles of capitulation, the forces of the allies the same day took possession of the gate and covered way ; and the garrison being to be transported to Cadiz, it was resolved at a council of war, the 26th instant, that a convenient number of transport-ships should be provided to carry them thither, and that two men-of-war should be ordered to convoy them without the Straits to prevent any attempts that might be made by the said forces, to oblige the transports to land them at any other port more to the eastward of that place, as likewise to protect them from the Algerines. It was also resolved that the convoy to the transport-ships, that had the prisoners on board, should take with them all the empty transports, store, and victualling-ships that were to be discharged at Lisbon ; and after having seen the former out of the Straits, that they should proceed with them to that place, in order to their being discharged, and there take the Trade that was ready under their care and protection, and convoy them to England ; and further that the transports, &c., that were to be discharged in England and Ireland, should remain at Carthagená and Alicante, till the Lord Peterborough came or sent orders about them, as Sir John Leake had desired him to do some time since. And [it was determined] as soon as the castle was evacuated by the enemy, and they were embarked, to send for the marines and gunners that were on shore ; and also the guns, if Brigadier Gorges had no occasion for them for the defence of the town : and after that service was performed, to proceed with the fleet to Altea to water. And at another council of war, held the same day, upon the state of Carthagená, it was agreed that six guns of the lower tier, and four of the upper

tier of the Edgar in that harbour (she being leaky and under orders for England) should be put ashore and mounted in the two forts, to defend the entrance into that harbour ; the cannon that were in those forts having been taken away to fortify the city against any attempt of the enemy by land. These dispositions being made for the security of Carthagená and Alicante, so happily reduced to the obedience of His Catholic Majesty, we shall leave the further proceedings of the fleet for the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER XV¹

Proceedings at Alicante after the surrender of the Castle. Sir John goes with the fleet before Iviza, which submits ; from thence to Majorca, which he obliges to capitulate ; and, leaving a squadron abroad for the winter guard, returns to England.

AFTER the surrender of Alicante castle, it was to be considered what expedition the fleet should next proceed upon. To give assistance to the Duke of Savoy was of the greatest moment, and agreeable to the positive orders from England ; and therefore it had been resolved at a council of war, the 13th of August, to remain at Alicante till Sir John Leake should receive an answer from the King of Spain and the Earl of Peterborough, in relation to that service, and the expedition to Naples. But not having received any answer the 26th, nor any expectations of seeing the Lord Peterborough ; it was determined in another council (before-mentioned) that as soon as the castle was evacuated by the enemy, and the garrison embarked, they should proceed to Altea and water ; Sir John believing it would be better to wait the arrival of an answer at that place, whilst in the meantime they might complete their watering, and put the fleet in a condition to proceed directly to Italy, or on any other service

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 26th August, 1706, to 28th April, 1707.

which should be resolved upon. The following day he received a letter from Count Leon Uhlfeldt, Viceroy of Catalonia, proposing the sending of a squadron of ships before Iviza, which place he had received assurances would declare for King Charles upon summons ; and these propositions were brought by Don Francis Balançat, an inhabitant of the city of Iviza, whom the Viceroy recommended to him as a very fit person to promote His Catholic Majesty's interest in that island. Whereupon having summoned a council of war, it was resolved that eleven English and Dutch ships should be detached upon that service, as soon as the fleet had watered at Altea, conceiving (no doubt) they should be ascertained in that time concerning the Duke of Savoy.¹ Soon after, Sir John received the following letter from His Catholic Majesty :—

SIR,—My Lord Peterborough having given me part of the positive orders, he hath received from the Queen, to go immediately with the fleet and some troops to Italy, to succour His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy ; and having at the same time desired to hear my sentiments and those of the generals of the army of² the service the fleet could do the public in the present conjuncture ; a council of war was called wherein it was found necessary to represent to the said fleet the matters contained in the copy herewith annexed : and I judge the same to be of great importance in the present conjuncture. My Lord hath engaged himself, on his part, to have a particular care that his demands may be executed ; and knowing with how much zeal you support the interest of the common cause, I hope you will not

¹ Sc. No doubt believing that they would in the meantime receive definite tidings from Charles III and the Earl of Peterborough relative to the business of the Duke of Savoy.

² Concerning.

fail to contribute with your good offices, to the end that on one side the Queen may be obeyed, and on the other that my conquests may be maintained in Spain by your proper care and the happy success, wherewith God hath been pleased to bless our arms. We being at present in the middle of these kingdoms, I promise myself that you'll neglect nothing that can be desired of you, to facilitate the operations of the army, from which depends not only the re-establishment of my monarchy, but also the fortune of Europe, and the glorious conclusion of this present war. I vow to you an acknowledgment and particular obligation, and do assure you of my constant love and good-will.

CHARLES.

GUADALAXARA, *Aug. 11, 1706.*

The copy of the council of war, referred to in His Majesty's letter, was as follows, viz.

'A council of war was held at the Palace of Guadalaxara, the 9th of August, 1706.

'The Earl of Peterborough having communicated to the council the positive orders which he had received from the Queen his mistress to attend the fleet with some troops to Italy; and offering at the same time to contribute of his part all that could conduce to the benefit of the common cause; and desiring everybody should explain his opinion in a case of such importance; they executed it accordingly, all of them giving the intimations which they thought most proper, and the opinions were generally alike the same, all agreeing that my Lord should go with the fleet to Italy; procuring that the Admirals should have a competent number of ships on the coast of Andalusia, to hinder, by that diversion, the enemy's troops designed for the defence of Cadiz and other frontier places, from joining with the Duke of Anjou's army, to the very great prejudice of the common cause. That my Lord Peter-

borough having put in execution the Queen's commands in Italy, return with the fleet and attempt the taking of Port Mahon, judging this conquest of the very highest importance in the present posture of affairs ; the coasts of Catalonia and Valencia remaining ever exposed to the invasion of the enemy, unless protected by the neighbourhood of the fleet. For which end it is indispensable that the fleet be ordered to continue during the winter in the said port, and that the necessary instances be repeated to the Queen of England, that she would please to command that her fleet have such orders for the ensuing winter ; without which, the conservation of Catalonia and Valencia must be despaired of.

'The Earl of Peterborough charges himself with the care of sending light frigates to Lisbon, to transport the money which may have been provided in that court for the pay of the army, as well as to bring the intelligences that may be important to the success of the present engagements.

Present.—Marquis das Minas ; Lord Galway ; Ambassador of Portugal ; Count Noyelles ; Her Majesty's Envoy, Mr. Stanhope ; Prince Antonio de Lichtenstein.' ¹

The better to understand the above-mentioned letter of King Charles, it is necessary to observe that the Lord Peterborough, notwithstanding the pressing instances of His Majesty to join the army at Madrid, did not arrive at Guadalaxara near that place till the 6th of August,² and then with a very inconsiderable force,³ though he had thirteen battalions of English foot and two regiments of dragoons in several places, which he had

¹ As to who these were, see INTRODUCTION.

² *Impartial Inquiry*.

³ *Earl of Galway's Narrative*.

left behind him : and, as his Lordship had disputed the command with Lord Galway, his superior officer (contrary to the Queen's command and to reason), that Lord, preferring the public service to all other considerations, generously offered the Lord Peterborough the command of the Queen's forces upon his arrival. But because the Marquis das Minas would not do so too, the Lord Peterborough chose to leave the army ; yet had so much inclination to command, that the eighth instant he proposed a method for that purpose, whereby the generals might be independent of each other as to command, and receive all orders from His Majesty. These proposals not being approved of, his Lordship desired a council of war might be called the next day, and there started his indispensable instructions to go to Italy ; which in all probability had never been thought of, if his proposal about the command had been approved. The council of war having come to the resolutions before-mentioned, his Lordship soon left the army to take upon him the command of the fleet, and go for Italy ; and as His Majesty by fatal experience had reason to suggest some ill effects, so he seems to be under some apprehensions (by his letter before-mentioned to Sir John Leake) as if he might draw off the troops and fleet, and thereby leave the conquests exposed ; for which reason he desires Sir John's good offices in the fleet against any attempts the Lord Peterborough might make to his disservice.

The 28th at night, the Garland arrived from Lisbon, bringing His Royal Highness's orders of the 16th of July, for sending a squadron of nine sail of the line to the West Indies, to bring the galleons to Spain ; which squadron he was to put under the command of a Flag Officer, and to

communicate these orders immediately to the King. And accompanying these orders were copies of Her Majesty's Instructions to the Earl of Peterborough and Major-General Stanhope, in relation to the said expedition. As this detachment from the fleet was to be made directly to the West Indies, if possible, Sir John called a council of war immediately thereupon; and it was agreed that two ships of 80 guns, four of 70, three of 60, two frigates and a fireship, should be manned out of the fleet and sent directly to Lisbon, in order to their being victualled and provided with naval stores, to enable them to proceed on their voyage, the fleet not having sufficient to supply them. And accordingly he appointed the Devonshire, Cumberland, Northumberland, Essex, Resolution, Mary, Monk, Canterbury, Firme, with the Garland and Falcon frigates, and the Hunter fireship for that service; to be commanded by Sir John Jennings. The same day he dispatched an express by land with a letter to Brigadier Stanhope, and copies of the Queen's Instructions lest the originals should have miscarried; which not having come to his hands, he supposed were sent by land from Lisbon. 'My Lord Peterborough,' says he, 'I believe is still at Valencia, and God Almighty only knows when I shall see him: but I have sent him copies of the Instructions.' By the same express he sent the following letter to King Charles:—

SIR,—I have received the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 11th ultimo, and take leave to assure your Majesty that I shall omit no opportunity of promoting your Majesty's interest; and shall always be proud when your Majesty shall please to honour me with your commands. Last night by a ship from Lisbon I received

Instructions for sending a squadron of ships to the West Indies, a copy of which comes herewith. But there being neither stores nor provisions sufficient in the fleet to fit them for that expedition, I shall be obliged to send them to Lisbon; where after they arrive, they will be got ready to proceed in seven or eight days; after which I shall order Sir John Jennings, who commands the said squadron, to remain there ten days for your Majesty's dispatches (if they do not get to him before that time is expired) but hope your Majesty will find a conveyance for them by land to Lisbon; but lest that should fail, I shall order a frigate or two to wait at Valencia for them, in order to their going by sea to Lisbon; and beg your Majesty will please to send your commands to those captains, whether they may wait for your Majesty's dispatches, that they may stay upon the coast no longer than is necessary. On the fourth¹ instant the castle of Alicante surrendered, upon the articles of capitulation, of which I herewith send a copy for your Majesty's perusal; which is all at present from,

Your Majesty's

Most humble, and

Most obedient servant,

J. LEAKE.

To His Catholic Majesty, King Charles III of Spain.

Recommended to the care of the Viceroy of Valencia.

The 29th in the morning another council of war was held in relation to a former resolution that had been taken to send a detachment to Iviza. When, considering the orders Sir John Leake had received to send nine sail to the West Indies; and Admiral Wassenaer having received orders to send six Dutch ships of the line to Lisbon—which ships would take up a great part of the water that was then in the fleet; it was agreed and resolved to put off, for the present, the

intended expedition to Iviza, it being absolutely necessary for the remaining part of the fleet to go to Altea to water, by which time they might reasonably expect the Lord Peterborough from Valencia, or resolve upon further proceedings there.

Soon after this council of war, his Lordship arrived in the Medway, with the Falcon and Fowey from Valencia. Whereupon another council was immediately called to consider of the succours for Italy; and it was resolved that, whereas by advice¹ from a vessel arrived lately from Savona of the raising of the siege of Turin, and that an officer was arrived express from Prince Eugene with the confirmation of the same, and the news of a defeat given in Italy to the French²: these considerations, the season of the year, the present circumstances of Spain, the diminution of the troops in the service of Alicante, induced all the council to be of opinion that Her Majesty's several Instructions for transporting the troops to Italy must be dispensed with, which were so much wanted and desired by the King of Spain; and that the fleet should proceed to Altea to water, and then to consider what further service might be undertaken. This council of war was held on board the Prince George, where his Lordship did Sir John the honour to continue his flag, during the few days the fleet continued at Alicante. It was indeed at this time necessary it should be so, as they were to act jointly: and as his Lordship was always on shore, except when a council of war was called, and he did not intend to proceed with the fleet out of that harbour, or take upon him any other command,

¹ They were advised.

² See below, p. 165.

it would have been attended with many inconveniences, had it been otherwise.

The following day another council of war was held in relation to the transports, which had been kept abroad at a very great expense, without a probability of any occasion for them (though Sir John had so frequently represented that matter to his Lordship but never received any answer). But now it was resolved that, there being no further occasion for them, they should be sent to England in order to be discharged ; and that the Bedford, Edgar, and Ranelagh (which were very leaky) and the Berwick (much disabled in her masts by the enemy's shot from Alicante castle, and being therefore not fit to remain abroad) should convoy them to England. The 31st, six Dutch men-of-war sailed for Holland. And the Pembroke, with the transports, having the garrison of Alicante Castle on board, sailed for Cadiz, to land them pursuant to the articles of capitulation, and with the empty transports which were to be discharged at Lisbon.

These affairs being settled, and the fleet now at liberty to proceed on any further service that the short remainder of this campaign would admit, another council of war was held the first of September ; and it was resolved, the fleet should proceed immediately to Altea to water, and from thence to Majorca and Iviza, to contribute to the reducing those islands to the obedience of King Charles III, being at liberty to attend the service no further than the 15th instant, by reason of the want of provisions and the ill condition of several great ships, unfit for service. And further, that the Prince George, a Second Rate, the Dorsetshire, Burford, Grafton, Hampton Court and Rupert, Third Rates, and the Antelope

a Fourth Rate, being much decayed by the worm and their continuance abroad, should proceed at their return from the islands (and having watered at Altea) immediately for England ; the rest of the fleet at the same time pursuing their voyage to Lisbon, unless orders arrived to the contrary.

Soon after, Sir John received an order from the Earl of Peterborough to the same effect, requiring him to take the fleet under his command, and directing him (at his own request) to return home with the ships designed for England, leaving Sir George Byng to command the Lisbon squadron ; and desiring him, before he parted with the ships designed for Portugal, that he would be pleased to call a council of war, and there consider and resolve what further orders and Instructions might be fit to give Sir George Byng. The resolutions in the council of war, previous to these orders, were Sir John's own sentiments ; who was desirous to have the further operations of the fleet settled by his Lordship, to conclude the campaign, and go home ; it being impossible the orders he had desired from England for that purpose could arrive in any reasonable time.

This disposition being made of the fleet, the 2nd of September early in the morning, Sir John sailed from Alicante, with 26 sail of ships of the line, viz. 16 English and 10 Dutch. At the same time Sir John Jennings with his squadron, and the convoy for England with the transports, sailed also, leaving the Lord Peterborough behind with four sail, designing to proceed to Genoa to negotiate some money affairs. So that whilst the ministry in England were impatient to know the consequence of his Lordship's having joined the Earl of Galway, as they were uneasy before at the delays in his march, they were not a little

surprised by the next advices to hear that his Lordship had left the army near Madrid, and quitted his three charges of Admiral, General, and Plenipotentiary, to go for Italy without fleet or forces, to negotiate a matter he had no authority to do. Nor could the King of Spain be less surprised at his Lordship's proceedings; when it is considered that he left the army under the resolutions of the council of war of Guadalaxara, before-mentioned, which were taken upon the necessity of complying with His Majesty's positive orders for his going (as he represented) with the fleet and forces to succour the Duke of Savoy.

The next morning after the fleet sailed from Alicante, they anchored in Altea Bay to water the ships. Here Sir John, remembering the hardships he had suffered the last winter by the want of provisions, resolved to make timely provision against such another accident, and therefore dispatched the Ipswich with orders to Mr. Biss, Agent Victualler at Lisbon, to send some provision to Gibraltar for the use of the fleet, if there should be occasion; or if not, to supply the garrison with it; or at least, if there was no immediate want, he could but send or carry it back again to Lisbon, which he thought more advisable than to risk the inconveniences they might possibly be otherwise exposed to. From hence he likewise dispatched a letter to England, by the *Enterprise*, to acquaint the Lord High Admiral with his proceedings; concluding, that he left the Lord Peterborough at Alicante, who he presumed would acquaint His Royal Highness of all proceedings since his Lordship came to the fleet, and of his design of going to Genoa, and how he intended to dispose of the rest of the fleet that were not with him. The 5th, the

ships having completed their watering, Sir John proceeded from thence to go to Iviza.

The island of Iviza is one of the ancient Baleares, under the government of the Viceroy of Majorca, from whence it is about seventy-eight miles distant almost west; extending from east to west about thirteen leagues, and from north to south ten, and thirty in circumference. It is extremely fertile in corn, wine and fruits; furnishing part of Spain, Italy and Piedmont, with great quantities of salt. The principal town of the same name stands on the southern shore, together with a very safe harbour, the fort of St. Hilario Magna, &c.

The 8th, at night, being within five leagues of the town of Iviza, Sir John dispatched Don Francisco Balançat, a native of that place (who we have mentioned before to have been recommended for that purpose) ashore to excite the people to declare for King Charles, upon the appearance of the fleet; and he effected his business so well with the Governor and inhabitants, that the next morning, when the fleet anchored before the place, and sent a summons, the castle saluted him with all their guns; and the Governor and magistrates came on board the Prince George, to tender their duty and allegiance to His Majesty. The same day they took the oath of homage to King Charles. Sir John dispatched a letter to Prince Lichtenstein, with an account of this success, the next morning; recommending Don Francis Balançat to His Highness's favour, as also Captain Pedro Ruiseck, who had been his companion in all this affair, and was the Admiral's pilot; desiring His Highness would intercede with His Majesty, that Don Francis Balançat might have the employment of assessor to the

Governor and auditor, the gentleman who then enjoyed it at that time being not very well affected, and the time expired for his holding the place ; and that Captain Pedro Ruiseck might have the place of 'Guardian del Puerto' ; being well assured of the zeal of both these gentlemen for His Majesty's service ; which request was afterwards granted.

The affairs of Iviza being settled and the proper dispositions made for the security of the place, the 13th, early in the morning, he sailed from thence towards Majorca, and arrived before it the next day. This island is the principal of those called Baleares, extending from east to west about twenty-two leagues, and from north to south sixteen, and almost sixty in compass ; an island abounding in wealth, and the seat of the Viceroy, who resides in the capital city of the same name, standing on the south-west shore of the isle, where is a good haven, seventy-eight miles almost N.E. of Iviza.

Upon the arrival of the fleet in the bay, Sir John immediately sent a summons to the Viceroy but did not meet with so ready a compliance here as at Iviza, the Viceroy with some others who were in the interest of the Duke of Anjou declaring upon the summons that they would defend the place to the last extremity. However, believing they might alter their opinion, he sent in a second time to demand a speedy and final answer ; but they persisted in the same resolution. Whereupon some in the fleet (and particularly Sir George Byng) were for laying aside any farther attempts upon the place ; the small number of shells making it impracticable to be bombarded with any hopes of success. But Sir John was of another opinion, as well from the general good

inclination the inhabitants bore to King Charles, as from the effect a few shells and some shot might have upon a people unacquainted with such things. And therefore he resolved to try a bombardment with the few shells they had left, and to cannonade them at the same time, and see how that would work upon the inhabitants.

Accordingly, at six in the evening, he sent in two bomb-vessels near the town. About eight they began to play, and fired two or three shells; but finding themselves at too great a distance, they weighed in order to go nearer. This had so good an effect, though the shells had fallen short of the place, that the inhabitants rose, killed one of the Duke of Anjou's party, and obliged the Viceroy for security to retire to his palace, and promise to capitulate. In the meantime some men from the town, coming on board the Prince George, acquainted Sir John what was doing; and, whilst he was preparing to improve this advantage, the Count de Moune with some other of the chief men of the island came off with a flag of truce and a message from the Viceroy that he desired to capitulate; upon which the bomb-vessels were ordered to desist, and hostages were exchanged; Captain Charles Wager and Captain George Acton were sent ashore, and two of the principal gentlemen kept on board in their room. Nevertheless, in order to hasten their proposals, Sir John thought fit to order seven English and three Dutch ships of the line to be ready next morning to cannonade the town upon any disagreement that might happen. Accordingly they took their stations in a line before the town for that purpose; but by this means all things were adjusted without it; for about one o'clock the Viceroy sent off his

demands which, being considered and answered, were returned that night, and at six the next day the capitulations for surrendering the city and island of Majorca to His Majesty King Charles III, as agreed to, were signed as follows:—

Capitulations which are desired of his Excellency Sir John Leake, who commands the fleet of Her Britannic Majesty, by the illustrious Earl of Alcudia, Viceroy and Captain General of the City and Kingdom of Majorca, in order to the surrender of the said city and island.

Article I.—That the place and island, with the castles, forts and towers, shall be surrendered to the forces of Her Britannic Majesty two days after the signing of the capitulations ; and that immediately after signing, shall be delivered up the Field Gate, with the Bastion of the Prince ; and in the interim no hostilities committed on the one side or the other ; and strict orders shall be given to any of the people that enter, that they hinder all confusions, encounters and disorders, which shall be inviolably complied with.

Answer.—That the place and island of Majorca, with all their castles, forts and towers, shall be delivered to the forces of His Catholic Majesty of the High Allies, twelve hours after the signing of the proposed capitulations ; and that immediately after signing, the city of Majorca shall take care to appoint such a number of men, the most proper to that end, that may immediately possess for King Charles III the Field Gate and the Bastion of the Prince ; and in the interim there shall be no hostilities committed, either on the one part or the other : the said city undertaking to give positive and strict orders to the body of militia appointed for that purpose, that they hinder all confusions,



encounters and disorders, which the Admiral for his part engages carefully to do.

Article II.—That the illustrious Earl of Alcudia, Viceroy, shall freely go out to embark, as also the ministers, as well of the Royal audience, as of the Royal patrimony and of the tribunals, magistrates, and any other officers, as well Royal as universal, of any degree, pre-eminence or condition whatsoever; and that any other persons, natives of this city and island, or strangers, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, that will depart with their families, clothes, goods and movables, may embark with the illustrious Viceroy if they please, without suffering any hostilities or vexation by the force of the Admiral, or by the peasants or citizens, in their own persons or families: as also that the baggage and effects which they desire to carry with them to the place appointed, shall not be detained upon any pretext, for what they may have acted in the new reign, since the death of His Majesty King Charles II of blessed memory, and the peasants and citizens shall exactly and punctually observe the contents of this and the other capitulations, on the penalty of being severely chastised.

Answer.—All this article is agreed to, except only, that none of the French nation shall carry away any part of their effects.

Article III.—The said illustrious Viceroy, ministers and other persons mentioned in the foregoing article may have free liberty to embark, and go out of this city and island, with any embarkations, as well French as others, that are to be found in this port or island, as soon as the place is delivered, to any port of Spain, France or Italy, as they shall appoint or think fit; and that the Admiral shall give them sufficient convoys.

Answer.—This article is agreed to, with the same limitations as the second.

Article IV.—That in case the said illustrious Viceroy, ministers and other persons above-mentioned desire immediately to be going, and cannot find sufficient embarkations to carry them to the said ports, the Admiral shall give necessary orders, that they may be provided with what necessary embarkations they may have occasion for.

Answer.—Agreed.

Article V.—That in case any of the inhabitants of this city or island above-mentioned desire to embark and go to other dominions, they may and shall be admitted to stay in the place six months, with their liberties, families, equipage and movables; the necessary passports being given them; and they shall have one year to dispose of their lands and estates, and enjoy their product.

Answer.—In case any of the inhabitants of the above-mentioned city and island of Majorca desire to embark and go to other dominions, they may and shall be admitted to stay in the place one month, with their liberty and their families, equipage and their movable goods, with necessary passports, and shall have three months to dispose of their lands and estates, and enjoy their product, except those of the French nation, as expressed in the answer to the second article.

Article VI.—That the garrison in the castle and fortress of St. Charles shall go out freely with all their officers, as well Spaniards as French; delivering up at the same time the city evacuated, the castles and forts; and that the French garrison that are found in the said castle, with their commanders and officers, shall be suffered

to depart, carrying with them all the tartans in which they came to this island, with all their equipage, arms, ammunition and provisions that they brought; masters and mariners, with all things convenient, for the security of their voyage to some port of France.

Answer.—The French troops that embark shall not carry with them arms, ammunition or provision; only of the latter sufficient shall be given them for their subsistence in their voyage; and only so many barks as may be barely necessary to carry them to some port on the coast of France.

Article VII.—That the lives and estates of the natives and inhabitants remain secure and safe, although they be French; and that the council of that nation, now in this city or island, and the other strangers, as well neighbours and inhabitants of the said city, as also any others of the other town in the place, suffer no damage in their persons or families; neither shall their houses or goods be sacked, or suffer any hostilities either by soldiers or persons; and that if they desire it, they may have passports to go out of the island to France or any other place.

Answer.—This article is agreed to with the same exceptions as the second.

Article VIII.—That the city and island of Majorca, their natives and inhabitants, and all the commons and others, as well ecclesiastical as secular, shall be confirmed and maintained in all their privileges, laws, rights and liberties, as well common as particular, that they have enjoyed and enjoy, and were allowed by the serene Kings of Aragon and Majorca.

Answer.—The privileges, rights and liberties shall be allowed the said city, in the same manner

as they enjoyed them at the death of King Charles II, who is in glory.

Article IX.—That nothing shall be touched belonging to the Cathedral Church, and others of this city and island, convents, monasteries, chapels, hospitals, and other sacred and pious places: nor the cloths, goods, money, silver, gold, jewels, or any other things of value, that may be deposited in them, as well the effects of the said churches and places, as of particular persons that have taken refuge in them; and that all those sacred and pious places, with the persons in them, as well ecclesiastics as seculars, shall be maintained in all their rights.

Answer.—Agreed to, except that those of the French nation shall have no benefit by the present article.

Article X.—That the houses and goods of the Bishop, Vicar-General, Canons, and other ecclesiastics of the city and island, shall remain free and safe; preserving untouched and without prejudice all their jurisdictions, as well episcopal as others; their curates and all their goods, as well in the city as out of it, enjoying and administering all, with the liberty that they at present enjoy and administer.

Answer.—Agreed.

Article XI.—That there shall be no innovations, or prejudice done to the immunities and privileges, either ecclesiastical or royal, and other prerogatives that have been granted the said churches, convents, and sacred places, as well in common as particular; but that they remain with their liberties and prerogatives that hitherto they have attained.

Answer.—Agreed.

Article XII.—That the tribunal of the Inquisition shall be permitted and continued, as it

has been heretofore ; with the same prerogatives jurisdictions and privileges, as well the tribunal as their ministers.

Answer.—Agreed.

That all the above-mentioned capitulations, shall have at any time punctual and desired observance ; Admiral Leake and the Conde de Alcudia, having offered to maintain irrevocably to the part that relates to each other ; and that the present capitulations shall remain firmed and secured. On board the Prince George, the 28th of September, N.S., 1706.

J. LEAKE.

Using the power we have from the Conde de Alcudia, Viceroy and Captain-General of Majorca, we sign with our own hands the present capitulations.

EL CONDE DE MONTAÑEGRO Y DE MONTORO.

EL MARQUEZ DE BEL POCUE.

DON SALVADOR SUREDA DE ST. MARTI.

The foregoing capitulations being signed, the French garrison which was in the castle of St. Charles at Puerto Pine was brought off that evening, and a hundred marines from the fleet with three commission officers took possession of it. The 20th, being King Charles's birthday, Sir John caused His Majesty to be proclaimed in the city, and the oath of allegiance to be administered to the inhabitants. At the same time the city guns were fired three times round, which were answered by the cannon of the fleet. Te Deum was sung at the Cathedral ; and the Admirals had a grand entertainment provided for them at the palace by the new Viceroy ; the evening concluding with illuminations, fireworks,

and all other demonstrations of joy. The two following days were employed in making the proper dispositions for the settlement and security of the island. Captain Landen, Sir John appointed commander-in-chief of the marines in the castle of St. Charles, which he supplied with powder and all other necessaries for the defence of it. And having seen the magistrates and officers sworn to the obedience of King Charles, he sailed from thence with the whole fleet the 23rd, except the Newark and Cambridge, which he left behind to bring away the Viceroy and disaffected persons.

The next day he sent the Hampton Court to Alicante with his letters to Prince Lichtenstein and Major-General Stanhope, giving them an account of his success at Iviza and Majorca. 'And I wish,' says he to the Prince, 'that all His Majesty's subjects were so unanimous to pay their obedience as the people of those two islands. My present orders,' continued he, 'are to go for England, with part of the fleet, and to send the rest to Lisbon to refit. How I shall be disposed of, when I get thither, I know not ; but wherever I am, desire your Highness will please to assure His Majesty my prayers and hearty wishes shall be always for His Majesty's health and prosperity.' And in his letter to General Stanhope, 'I wish,' says he, 'I could have promoted His Majesty's interest by going to Port Mahon ; but the shortness of provisions, the want of soldiers, and the season of the year obliged me last night to weigh from Majorca and pursue my orders.'

The 28th, being off of Carthagena, he ordered the Burford and Stirling Castle to proceed thither, and take off the marines and provisions which were remaining there. At the same time he was joined by the Swift sloop from Gibraltar, bring-

ing him the agreeable orders from His Royal Highness for his return to England, and to make choice of twenty-five sail of the line (or so many of that number as were in a condition to be left), besides frigates, fireships and other vessels, in conjunction with such Dutch as the States General should appoint (exclusive of the nine to go to the West Indies), to remain abroad for a winter-guard and for the next summer's service ; and to put them under the command of Sir George Byng ; and with the remainder to return to England, calling at Spithead for orders ; and, finding none, to go to the Downs. These orders were directed to Sir John only, without taking any notice of the Earl of Peterborough as Admiral, and dated the 13th of August ; so that this order was before his letter desiring to be recalled, which was not dated till the 19th of August. Upon these orders Sir John called a council of war ; and it was agreed that the season of the year, and the shortness of provisions would not permit the fleet to stay any longer in the Mediterranean ; and therefore it was resolved that pursuant to Sir John Leake's orders, himself with the Prince George, Dorsetshire, Grafton, Hampton Court, Royal Oak and Vulture fireship, should proceed to England ; and the rest of the fleet to Lisbon, in order to be cleaned and refitted.

The 30th of September Sir John received a letter from Brigadier Stanhope, and another from Brigadier Gorges from Alicante ; but as he was now on his way for England, he could not stay to answer them ; only I shall insert that of Brigadier Gorges, to show how careful my Lord Peterborough was to support that important conquest, which had been made with so much bravery.

ALICANTE, *October 9, 1706, N.S.*

SIR,—I am sorry you pass us without seeing you, and more concerned that I am left here ; for give me leave to tell you that never man was left in such a condition ; for he has neither left me money nor provisions, and the castle is just as you left it ; and the ball which Mr. Collier sent up, is either all too little or too big for the guns. Therefore if you do not send me that sort of ball, which is demanded in the enclosed, I know not what we shall do. And my Lord told me he would give orders to you at Altea to send me both such provisions and biscuit ; which if he has not done, by G—d I will desert, for I will not stay to be made a prisoner of war, and that must be my case very soon, if not relieved by your sending us what you can spare. But I will press you to nothing, for I flatter myself that you have kindness enough to relieve me if you can. I was within two leagues of Murcia, but was forced back upon the news of the enemy's coming hither, and all the towns round about here have now declared for the Duke of Anjou ; but I hope when the troops are a little refreshed, I shall make them declare again, if the enemy does not send a stronger detachment down, though they threaten me hard. But if you will help me with these things, I do not question but to give an account of them, whenever they think fitting to attack me, who am,

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and obliged humble servant,

R. GORGES.

P.S. My service to all my sea acquaintance, and we drink your health constantly.

Whether my Lord Peterborough neglected Alicante in particular, more than the other conquests upon the coast of Spain, in order to distress Gorges, I will not positively determine ; but it is certain his Lordship never intended the siege of that place should be undertaken, was very much disappointed at the success of the fleet at Alicante,

and very angry with Brigadier Gorges for concurring with Sir John to carry on the siege without full powers from his Lordship for so doing. As to the relief he wanted of provisions and shot, the fleet could not possibly supply at that time, being themselves short of provisions, and obliged upon that account to make the best of their way. All that Sir John could do in this case he did, which was to recommend the affair to Sir George Byng to send him what he wanted.

Sir John likewise received the following letter from His Catholic Majesty :—

SIR,—Having received your letter of the ninth instant, and seen the orders that you have to send immediately a squadron of ships towards the West Indies, to try to intercept and secure the galleons that are coming from thence, I declare that I am very sensible of the favour that my dear sister the Queen doth me in that matter, and am at the same time very much satisfied of the obliging offers you make me to stay for my packets, and to order the execution of what I shall think necessary for my interest in that expedition. But as the time fixed upon is so short, and the consequence of the enterprise so important, I cannot desire anything in the present conjuncture that might be of service to the common cause. I remit only two patents-general to my minister at Lisbon, to be printed and delivered to the admiral that goes the voyage, that he may publish them at such places as he shall think convenient, and make as much use of them, as they are valid for the good and happy execution of his commission. I thank you also for the care and pains you have taken in reducing the town and castle of Alicante to my obedience ; and as I owe that conquest to your courage and good conduct, so I assure you of my acknowledgment, and always will have a particular esteem and regard for your person ; praying God to keep you in His holy Protection.

CHARLES.

FROM THE CAMPO DEL PEZALL, *Sept.* 22, 1706.

The campaign being now over for this year, Sir John gave the following instructions to Sir George Byng.

By Sir John Leake, Kt., Vice-Admiral of the White Squadron of Her Majesty's fleet, &c.

Pursuant to the resolution of a council of war of the 31st ultimo, you are hereby required and directed to take under your command one First Rate, one Second, ten Third, four Fourth, one Fifth, one Sixth, and two fireships. And with those at present in company (when I hoist a blue flag at my main topmast-head and fire a gun) you are to proceed to Lisbon, and direct the cleaning and refitting them with all possible expedition, and order their cruising in such stations as you may judge most effectual for disturbing and destroying the enemy, and guarding the coast of Portugal, as the treaty requires; so as you may call and have them together, to proceed upon any emergent or special service, in conjunction with the squadron of the States General, which is to join you from Holland.

If the Earl of Peterborough shall at any time give you notice that it is necessary for a part, or your whole squadron to go to the coast of Spain or Catalonia, and you have none of Her Majesty's or His Royal Highness's commands to perform, you are to comply with his Lordship's directions, if it shall be thought advisable by a council of war; and if the ministers of England and Holland residing at Lisbon, or the Earl of Galway, shall on any occasion propose to you to send to the assistance of the army, or to any of the garrisons upon the sea coast in possession of Her Majesty's forces, any men, arms, ammunition or money, you are to consider at a council of war how far you are able to assist in the performance of the same, and put in execution such resolutions as shall be taken.

You are to inform yourself as soon as possible of the condition of the garrison of Gibraltar; and when application shall be made to you by the commanding officer

for ammunition, victuals or stores, of which the garrison shall stand in need, you are to supply them from time to time with what shall be judged necessary, and may be spared from the squadron, or out of the stores at Lisbon. You are likewise to take the same care (if there be occasion) to supply the garrisons upon the sea-coast, in possession of the English.

You are to send home to the Secretary to His Royal Highness an account from time to time of your resolutions and proceedings, for His Royal Highness's information. Dated on board the Prince George at sea, September the 28th, 1706.

J. LEAKE.

To Sir George Byng, Kt., Vice-Admiral of the Blue Squadron of Her Majesty's fleet.

The 2nd of October, Sir John got through the Straits, and two days after was off of the Southward Cape. Whereupon he made the signal for parting, by hoisting a blue flag at his main top-mast-head and firing a gun, which Sir George Byng immediately answered, saluting him with fifteen guns. And having received the like number in return, he parted with eighteen sail for Lisbon ; and Sir John in the Prince George, with the Royal Oak, Dorsetshire, Hampton Court, Grafton, Vulture fireship ; and Admiral Wassenaer and six Dutch, continued their course for England.

In his passage he met with continual bad weather ; but particularly on the 9th instant, about four in the morning, a violent storm came upon them, attended with much lightning and rain. The main topsail-yard of the Prince George was broke in the slings, and the topsail and fore course were blown away. Then the wind shifting from S.W. to the W. he was obliged to bear away, till the violence of the wind was abated. At six he brought to under a mizzen, and when it

was broad day, looking for the rest of his squadron, he could only discover two sail to windward of him ; but by eight he lost sight of them. He then made sail, and stood to the northward, with his two courses low set ; but the fleet were so dispersed, that he saw not any of them afterwards till his arrival in England. During this storm the Prince George was in great danger of foundering by the force of the water that came into the ports, and the upper works that were very open in the seams ; and a gentleman who had been Sir John's Spanish linguist (a worthy man) was unhappily thrown by the violent motion of the ship against the side of the great cabin with such force that he died immediately. Two days after this they had hard gales of wind, which obliged them to bring to and lie by from two in the morning till noon, to secure the ports and pump out the water, which increased upon them very much since the last storm. After this, continuing to make the best of their way, as wind and weather would permit, the 16th, they had soundings, and at noon saw the Bolt. The 17th, in the afternoon they anchored at St. Helens, and the next morning arrived alone at Spithead : the rest of the squadron, after their separation from him, having suffered very much ; and the Dorsetshire which did not come in till the 31st, had met with such bad weather, they were forced to throw eighteen of their guns over-board, having eleven in the hold before.

As soon as Sir John arrived at Spithead, he dispatched a letter to His Royal Highness's secretary, as well to acquaint His Highness of his arrival, as of his success at Iviza and Majorca, which he had had no opportunity of communicating before. At the same time he likewise sent a letter

to the Secretary of State, acquainting him of the reduction of those two islands. 'That of Majorca,' says he, 'affords a great quantity of corn, oil and wine; the former may be of service to our army, since they have been obliged to retire, and are at present quartered upon the borders of Saragossa and Valencia, neither of those kingdoms, as I am told, producing corn sufficient for such an army.'

As soon as His Royal Highness received notice of Sir John's arrival, he dispatched an express with leave for his coming to London; upon which he struck his flag, and set out the 22nd, the common people receiving him with loud acclamations (the only way whereby they can express their admiration and respect); every one being forward to express the regard they had for a person who had brought so much honour to his country.

As the public was not wanting to give him his due praise, he had no reason to expect less from Her Majesty and her royal consort. For long before this he had had the satisfaction, by his friends, to hear that the Prince had received great satisfaction in his successes at Gibraltar and Barcelona, and was perfectly pleased with his conduct from first to last; and that Her Majesty had been pleased to enquire after him in a very obliging manner; that he had a great many good friends who rejoiced in his good fortune and would not suffer the great fatigue and pains he had taken to pass unregarded; and in particular, that his friend Admiral Churchill had taken care to represent these things in a proper manner to the Prince, who had provided a present for him, which would be a leading card to the like from Her Majesty. But this was soon after the relief of Barcelona, since which he had acquired

fresh laurels at Cartagena, Iviza, and Majorca, that now were thrown into the heap with the rest, but well deserved distinct honours and rewards. But besides the effects of these victories, his hearty and disinterested zeal for the service of His Catholic Majesty and the common cause ; and the patience and moderation he had showed under the want of stores, men and money ; as well as the difficulties arising from misunderstandings with our ministers, our faithless allies, and from the folly and treachery of the Lord Peterborough, were things that recommended him to the approbation of the Queen and ministry. For though the Earl of Peterborough did some time afterwards receive the thanks of the House of Lords for his eminent and faithful services in Spain by a speech of the Lord Keeper composed of such base flattery that was not only a disgrace to that august house, but a reproach to reason, and destructive of all virtue¹ ; it rather was designed to reflect upon the late ministry, and blast the reputation of the Lord Galway, than a possibility to impose a belief upon mankind of his Lordship's capacity or integrity. As Sir John therefore was ushered home by the universal applause of the people, and to the unspeakable joy of his family and friends after so long absence ; so he had the satisfaction to meet with a most gracious and kind reception from the Queen and His Royal Highness. His friend, Admiral Churchill, was proud upon this occasion to introduce one to the Prince, who had been raised under his influence, though by merit and a regular gradation. His Highness for the greater honour, was pleased to receive Sir John in his bed-chamber, and in a

¹ See *Boyer's Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, and *Impartial Inquiry*.

very courteous and obliging manner to express an entire approbation of his services, and a just sense of his merits ; at the same time with his own hands presenting him with a diamond ring of £400 value, and a gold sword. And waiting upon the Queen, he met with a very favourable reception, which fully expressed Her Majesty's regard for him, and her satisfaction in every thing he had done ; and as a royal gratuity for his many signal services, she was pleased to order him a present of £1000. Which gratuity was the more seasonable, because the three campaigns he had made abroad, though rich in glory, had not been attended with any considerable profit ; on the contrary, had rather put him under difficulties, by engaging his own credit to promote the public service. In fine, as the actions performed by Sir John Leake during [the] two years and eight months he had been abroad, taken with all their circumstances, were perhaps more and greater than had ever been performed by any admiral in the same space of time ; so no admiral in England ever met with a more kind reception and applause, both from his Prince and country ; which to a generous mind, like his, was beyond all other considerations.

CHAPTER XVI

Proceedings in the Channel in the year 1707, with the trial of Sir Thomas Hardy.

IN the year 1707 Sir Clowdisley Shovell commanded in the Mediterranean; and Sir John Leake was wholly employed in the Channel. By this means he had the opportunity to be with his family all the winter, and to consider his domestic affairs. But as soon as the spring came on and the service of his country required him to be in action, he resumed his command. For this purpose he had orders sent him the 28th of April to repair to Portsmouth, and take all the ships in that harbour and at Spithead under his command, and to get a squadron ready for a cruise in the Channel. These orders he executed with such expedition that the 30th, as soon as it was day, his flag was flying on board the Albemarle, a Second Rate in that harbour; and he issued orders the same day to those ships that had occasion to go into the dock. The following day, being the first of the Union,¹ was observed with all possible demonstrations of joy. The day after, he received His Royal Highness's orders putting the squadron, lately arrived from the West Indies with Sir John Jennings, into a condition for the sea, which he immediately caused to be put in execution.

¹ The Parliamentary Union of Scotland with England.

The 5th of May, he received a letter from His Royal Highness's secretary, acquainting him that the Dunkirk squadron, consisting of nineteen ships, nine of them of 50 and 60 guns each, and the others from 36 to 20, had come up with the Royal Oak, Hampton Court and Grafton off of Beachy the 2nd instant in the morning; and that they had taken the two latter, and very much disabled the Royal Oak, advising him therefore to be upon his guard at Spithead; and in the mean time to get some of the ships of Sir John Jennings's late squadron to supply the room of them the enemy had taken, which were designed for a convoy to Lisbon. To this letter Sir John immediately dispatched an answer, by express, to acquaint His Highness that he could get five sail ready to proceed upon service in less than forty-eight hours, viz., the Albemarle, Ramillies, Chester, Ruby and Arundel, provided he might man them out of the West India squadron. In the next place he ordered the Ruby to St. Helens, to give timely notice, if the enemy should approach that harbour; and then put himself in the best posture for defence, if they should attempt anything. The following day he appointed Captain Walker commander-in-chief of all the ships in the harbour, himself making preparations in order to sail; and the same day, in the afternoon, he received His Royal Highness's orders by express, directing him to man five sail (as he had proposed) out of the West India squadron, and to proceed to sea directly, and endeavour to join the Nassau, August, Reserve, Shoreham and Poole, that were cruising between Portland and the Land's End, and as soon as he had joined them, to cruise in such a station in the Soundings, as he should think most proper for meeting the

Trade, which was daily expected from Lisbon, under convoy of five sail ; and that he might order such other ships as could be ready in a few days in that harbour to follow him ; and after this, he was to appoint two ships to go to Chester, to convoy the Earl of Pembroke (Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) to that kingdom.

Pursuant to these orders, the next morning early, being the 7th, he sailed from Spithead with five sail, viz., the Albemarle, Ramillies, Arundel, Chester and Ruby, leaving orders for the Hampshire and Dover, that were not quite ready, to follow him, and appointed the rendezvous to be from Schouwen¹ to fifteen leagues south from Scilly.

[INSTRUCTIONS]

Losing company and meeting again. Those to windward to brail up their fore sails, and those to leeward to answer by brailing up their main sails ; after which the first that made the signal to hoist the jack of his ship on the ensign-staff, and the other to answer by hoisting his ensign with the cross downwards at the mizzen-peak.

Losing company and meeting in the night. He who hailed first was to ask, '*What ship that ?*' The other to answer, '*The Queen.*' The first to reply, '*The Prince*' ; the other to answer, '*With Victory.*'

In the afternoon, off of Portland, he spoke with a Dutch ship of Rotterdam, who gave him an account that fifteen sail of ships were arrived at Brest, between 50 and 70 guns, which they were refitting with all expedition again for the sea. In the morning of the 10th instant the

¹ 'Scawen,' author's spelling.

Hampshire and Dover joined him, and the next day off of Falmouth, the Nassau, August, Reserve, Shoreham and Poole.

Being thus happily united, Sir John held a council of war, consisting of himself and nine captains, in order to consider of the most proper station to cruise in for meeting the Lisbon convoy ; and it was resolved to proceed and cruise W. by S. about 50 leagues from the Lizard. Pursuant to this resolution, he went upon that station ; and the 16th discovered a fleet, which soon after joined him and proved to be the Charles Galley, Folkestone, and Lyme, with about 42 sail of merchant ships from Viana and Oporto. Hereupon he thought it proper to call another council of war ; and it being found that the convoy to the ships was very much in want of water and provisions ; and Sir John having had no advice of the Lisbon convoy more than that they left Lisbon before that convoy came from Oporto, and were separated in a storm ; and the Burford and five or six sail having been seen since by a Dutch privateer off of the northward cape¹: it was unanimously their opinion that the convoy they then had under their care should be taken care of into the Channel. And it was resolved to proceed with them to Plymouth ; and having seen them in safety, and receiving no advice of the Lisbon convoy, to proceed into the Soundings again, so soon as the ships that were in want were watered, unless there should be orders from His Royal Highness to the contrary. Accordingly he proceeded with the convoy towards Plymouth ; and the 18th dispatched the Shoreham and Arundel for Chester to convoy the Earl of Pem-

¹ Cape Ortegal.

broke to his government of Ireland, pursuant to His Highness's orders before-mentioned. The next day he arrived in Plymouth Sound, dispatching an express immediately to acquaint His Highness of his arrival there, and the resolutions taken concerning the Lisbon convoy.

The 23rd, the ships that were in want having supplied themselves with water, he sailed from Plymouth to his station. Here he cruised till the 28th, when he was joined by the Lyme from Plymouth, with the Prince's orders for leaving that station. Whereupon having detached the August and Poole to Plymouth to strengthen the Oporto convoy, himself with the Albemarle and four sail more bore away for Spithead, where he arrived the next day, and found the Lisbon convoy in that harbour. This he immediately acquainted His Highness of by express; and having obtained leave the 1st of June to go to London for the recovery of his health, he appointed the Lord Hamilton to command the ships in that harbour and at Spithead; and the next morning very early struck his flag, and went for London.

Coming to Guildford that evening, he met an express with His Royal Highness's orders, commanding his return to Portsmouth, upon intelligence from a packet-boat that they¹ fell in with thirteen sail of the enemy's ships, from 40 to 60 guns, stretching over from Dunkirk for the [South] Foreland. And there being some ships of war, and a considerable number of transports, victuallers, and Trade in the Downs, which were exposed to the enemy, he was ordered to take under his command eleven sail therein mentioned,

¹ *Sc. she.*

to get them in a condition to sail with all possible dispatch, and proceed with them to the Downs; and bring from thence to Spithead, under his convoy, Her Majesty's tin ships, with the trade bound that way. And for the greater expedition, he was directed to make up their complements of men out of other ships in that harbour.

In compliance with these orders, Sir John returned to Portsmouth directly, and re-hoisted his flag the same night on board the Albemarle, putting the squadron in immediate readiness for sailing by completing their number of men from other ships, and with such extraordinary dispatch that he left that harbour next morning with eleven sail, taking all the transports and trade from thence under his convoy to the Downs, where he anchored the 5th. Here he found six sail of men-of-war, and a great number of transports, victuallers and Trade, some of them bound up the river, which the next day he dispatched under convoy of four sail over the Flats, and detached the Rochester in quest of Admiral Whetstone, who in the afternoon joined him in the Downs with eleven sail of men-of-war.

The 7th, he called a council of war to consider of a letter he that day received from Mr. Burchett, dated the 5th instant, signifying His Royal Highness's directions to send part of the squadron under his command to intercept the French trade from St. Malo bound to the eastward under convoy of five men-of-war. Which having been maturely considered, it was the opinion of the council that the squadron should not be divided till they got to St. Helens¹ (it being very uncertain what strength the enemy had in the

¹ Spithead.

Channel to the westward of that place) and that then, if they met with no orders to the contrary, five sail should be detached to cruise for the enemy five or six days off Cape de la Hogue. And if they should gain no intelligence of them in that time, then to repair to Spithead. Captain Strickland was immediately appointed with five sail to proceed according to the resolution of the council of war ; and the same day in the afternoon, Sir John sailed from the Downs, with twenty-two sail of men-of-war, and 140 sail of merchant ships, and arrived at Spithead the 10th, when he struck his flag and went for London. Having (from the 1st of June at night, when he met the orders at Guildford) returned to Portsmouth, manned his squadron, convoyed the trade to the Downs, joined Admiral Whetstone, convoyed the trade from the Downs to Spithead, and returned to Guildford again in the space of nine days. After this, he enjoyed another short recess from business for about three months.

In the meantime, as it was resolved there should be a squadron sent to the Mediterranean the next campaign, it was necessary to make provision accordingly, that they might be ready to proceed thither early in the spring ; and His Royal Highness having considered of a proper person to command that squadron, was pleased to think no one so fit as Sir John Leake, as well because his name was so famous in those parts, as because he was most agreeable to His Catholic Majesty. This the Prince was pleased to acquaint him with in a very obliging manner. And soon after, he received His Highness's orders, dated the 11th of September, requiring him to repair to Spithead, and take the ships appointed for that purpose under his command as fast as they

came into that harbour, and cause them to be put into a condition to proceed with him to Lisbon ; at which place when he arrived, he was to take such other ships under his command that should be left there by Sir Clowdisley Shovell, who was to leave Instructions for him at that place.

As these orders were not very pressing, he had leave to continue some days in town, and then set out for Portsmouth ; and the 22nd of September hoisted his flag on board the Albemarle in that harbour ; besides the particular service he was sent upon, taking upon him likewise the command of all the ships there and at Spithead. Here he continued appointing convoys, and giving the necessary orders and dispatches to the ships, till the 13th of October following, nothing of any consequence intervening in that time, but the trial of Sir Thomas Hardy, which made such a stir amongst the merchants. And because Sir John was President at this trial, and soon after made choice of this gentlemen for his first captain, I shall be more particular in the relation of it.

At a court martial, held on board Her Majesty's ship the Albemarle, on Friday the 10th of October, 1707, in Portsmouth harbour.

PRESENT

Sir John Leake, Knight, Vice-Admiral of the White, and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's ships at Spithead and Portsmouth, President, and seven captains.

All being duly sworn, according to a late act of Parliament, &c.

Enquiry was made by the court into the

proceedings and conduct of Sir Thomas Hardy, captain of Her Majesty's ship, the *Kent*, and commander of a squadron of Her Majesty's ships appointed to cruise in the Soundings, with relation to the six ships they met on the 27th of August last, about 93 leagues S.W. from the Lizard, supposed to be a squadron of the enemy's ships under the command of M. Duguay Trouin; it being laid to his charge that he did omit and forbear to chase the said ships of the enemy, notwithstanding that by His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral's orders of the 2nd of July last, he was required, on sight of any ships of the enemy's, to detach Captain Kirktown, with the storeships, victuallers, &c. bound for Lisbon, and with the rest of the ships under his command to give chase to and use his utmost endeavours to come up with, and to take and destroy them.

The court having strictly examined into the matter; it appears by evidence, upon oath of the officers and others of several of the ships then in company of Sir Thomas Hardy, that, soon after their seeing the ships aforesaid, he did make the signal for the ships that were to continue with him to chase, and then the signal for Captain Kirktown and the trade with him to pursue their voyage; and that he, with his squadron, continued to chase till near seven in the morning; in which time finding that they did not gain anything upon them, the said ships being then about nine miles distant from him in the wind's eye, and night coming on, he called a consultation of the captains; where it was agreed to be most for the service to proceed in company of Captain Kirktown and the Trade with him, 120 leagues, as his Instructions directed, rather than to continue an uncertain chase, which might give the enemy an opportunity

of getting by, and falling in with the Trade after separation.

The court, having fully considered his whole proceedings, came to this resolution, that Sir Thomas Hardy had complied with His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral's orders, both with regard to the chasing the enemy, and also protecting the trade, and accordingly the court doth acquit the said Thomas Hardy from the charge laid against him.

This sentence was transmitted to His Royal Highness with the depositions of the several witnesses ; and some time after, these papers were sent for and read before Her Majesty in council. But though it then appeared that Sir Thomas was fairly acquitted by the court martial, yet the proceedings of that court were, on the 15th day of November, read before His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, and the following Flag Officers, Vice-Admiral Churchill, Sir Stafford Fairborne, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, Sir John Norris, and Sir James Wishart ; who all approved the sentence of the court martial, and gave their opinions under their hands. All this not satisfying some gentlemen in the city ; the papers relating to Sir Thomas Hardy's trial were laid before the House of Commons. But when they were read before the Committee, those very gentlemen who had called for them, finding Sir Thomas so clearly justified therein, would not speak to them as they had designed.

Afterwards upon a complaint to the House of Lords of a master of a Canary Ship, that Sir Thomas had refused to convoy him from Plymouth to Portsmouth, their Lordships ordered him to attend the House, which directed him to attend the committee. The latter took occasion like-

wise to examine the papers relating to his trial ; and after they had read them, on the 9th of February, 1707-8, Sir Thomas with two merchants, and the master of the Canary ship, were called in before their Lordships ; and Sir Thomas having showed his orders to warrant his refusal of convoy, he was ordered to withdraw ; and soon after the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod acquainted him that their Lordships found that he had fully justified himself, and done his duty in every respect ; and therefore that he was discharged from any further attendance.

It naturally occurs upon this trial to observe how vexatious and troublesome the merchants have frequently been, and may be, to the officers of the Navy. For when their ends of gain are not fully answered, then follow heavy complaints, and, right or wrong, some person must suffer to appease them. If the Admiralty cause the strictest inquiry, and it does not suit them, then to be sure they favour their own officers. If a court martial acquits, they are censured as favouring one another. Lastly, if they are disappointed in what they would have ; if no person can be convicted legally, they fly to Parliament, to be at least as vexatious as possible ; and after making a great bustle, it all comes to nothing, which has been the case of most of our merchants' complaints against the officers of the navy, the fault being generally found to be in themselves or the masters they employ.

This is a bad return to those brave officers who freely expose their lives in time of war, for an uncertain reward, that these traders may in the meantime enjoy wealth and peace at home. But to call a man to account after he has been tried and fairly acquitted by law, is contrary to

natural justice and English liberty, and is an act of the greatest tyranny. For admitting it may be necessary to revise the proceedings of a court martial in Parliament upon a supposition that they have acted partially, that inquiry can only affect the members that composed the court martial, but not the prisoners who had been legally discharged.¹

Three days after the trial of Sir Thomas Hardy, Sir John went to London, but returned a fortnight afterwards to Portsmouth, hoisting his flag the 29th of October on board the *Albemarle*. The same day he received orders for getting to sea with some ships to cruise in the Soundings for the protection of the homeward-bound trade from Lisbon, Jamaica and other parts. The 3rd of November he received further Instructions for getting ready, and, proceeding with seven sail of ships to join Captain Evans with his squadron of ten sail and taking them under his charge, to proceed therewith off of Plymouth for the security of the homeward-bound trade, &c. The next day he received advice by a letter from Captain Soanes from Plymouth that, the Sunday before, seventeen sail of the enemy's ships were seen off of the Berry Head, and that they stood all to the westward. Upon this intelligence, Sir John hastened the fitting of the ships; and for the greater readiness, the 6th instant he struck his flag on board the *Albemarle* in the harbour, and hoisted it on board the *Nassau* at Spithead. The 13th, he received orders to stay at Spithead twenty-four hours after the wind came fair, to be joined by the *Virginia* trade from the

¹ Compare Burchett, pp. 716-20; and Lediard, vol. ii, pp. 822-3.

Downs. The 24th, he received information from His Royal Highness's secretary that the Lisbon Trade, for which he had been directed to cruise in the Soundings, was arrived in the Downs. He was therefore directed to repair to Plymouth, to convoy the Portugal and Canary Trade, and the ships with Her Majesty's tin on board to Spithead ; and from thence to appoint the Russell with three other men-of-war to convoy them to the Nore.

The ships being now ready, in pursuance of these last orders, he run out to St. Helens, and was just ready to sail from thence the 28th, when he received His Royal Highness's Instructions for his appointing Sir John Norris to command that cruising squadron, [and directing him] to take care of the East India and other Trade bound up the Channel, to sail the first opportunity of wind, and to continue to cruise in the Soundings for the protection of the Trade till further orders, &c. Accordingly Sir John issued his orders to Rear-Admiral Norris the 2nd of December ; and two days after removed from the Nassau at Spithead to the Albemarle in the harbour. Not long after, Sir John Norris sailed, and Captain Strickland arrived there, whom Sir John (pursuant to His Royal Highness's orders of the 9th) appointed to proceed to Lisbon with some store-ships and the Trade, in company with the Colchester and some Dutch men-of-war ; likewise to carry the Morocco Ambassador to Tangier. And having given the other necessary directions for the disposition of the ships in that harbour, he struck his flag the 12th of December, and went for London, in order to prepare himself for the ensuing campaign in the Mediterranean ; the season now coming on for going thither, and the ships which were to compose his squadron, being in a very great forwardness.

BOOK III



BOOK III

CHAPTER I ¹

Sir John is appointed Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet. Is ordered with a fleet to the Mediterranean. His proceedings till his arrival at Lisbon.

It being thought necessary to encourage the drooping party in Spain by sending a squadron with a Flag Officer to command in the Mediterranean in the room of Sir Cloudisley Shovell, who was ordered home ; His Royal Highness was pleased to think Sir John Leake the fittest admiral he could appoint for that purpose ; both as he had made his name so famous by his actions in those parts for three campaigns successively, as because he was most agreeable to His Catholic Majesty King Charles, who had experienced how well affected he was to his interest and that of the common cause. The Prince was pleased to acquaint Sir John with his intentions in a very obliging manner ; and because it was designed the squadron should be ready to proceed thither early in the spring, proper measures were taken accordingly, and Sir John received orders the 11th of September to repair to Portsmouth, in order to get the ships in a readiness, which were

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 11th September, 1707, to 30th March, 1708.

to proceed with him to Lisbon. But as these ships were upon various services, and therefore could be collected together only as they dropped in one by one, it was a work of some time to complete. Leaving him then employed in this work, and in his command of Her Majesty's ships at Spithead and in Portsmouth harbour, I shall look back upon the proceedings of the allies in Spain and the Mediterranean, from October, 1706, when Sir John left those parts, to connect them with what follows.

We may remember, in the campaign of 1706, that Sir John had been very much embarrassed and made uneasy by the Earl of Peterborough, under a commission as Joint-Admiral, which he bore the more patiently, as he was in continual expectation of the arrival of Sir Clowdisley Shovell to take the command. And thus it rubbed on to the end of the campaign, when Sir John, by his conduct and good fortune having reduced almost the whole coast of Spain in the Mediterranean, leaving Sir George Byng with a squadron abroad for the winter service, with the rest returned to England. In the meantime Sir Clowdisley had been taken up¹ at home upon a project for a descent upon France with a large body of land forces under the command of the Earl Rivers. But by the delays of the Dutch, the summer was spent and the design came to nothing; whereupon the fleet and forces were ordered directly to Lisbon. Accordingly, the 1st of October, they sailed from Torbay, in their passage meeting with very bad weather; the same storm which had dispersed Sir John's squadron, dispersing the fleet with Sir Clowdisley; and much about the same time the one arrived

¹ Occupied.

at Spithead, the other got to Lisbon. As to the affairs by land, they had been equally unsuccessful; the army having penetrated to Madrid and proclaimed King Charles in his capital; but by unhappy delays, the King not coming thither till long after it, encouraged the opposite party, who gathering strength, obliged him to retire again. And this was the situation of the affairs of Spain in October, 1706, when Sir Clowdisley Shovell arrived at Lisbon.

Soon after his arrival Don Pedro, King of Portugal, died, and was succeeded by his son Don John who, to the great satisfaction of the allies, presently declared he would perform all the engagements his father had entered into, and carry on the war with vigour. But the campaign of 1707 was nowhere propitious to our wishes, but more especially in Spain. All that the fleet did was to convoy the land forces to Alicante, where they were disembarked time enough to receive their share in the defeat at the unfortunate battle of Almanza, which was fought the 25th of April, N.S., and drew after it the loss of many important places. After this Sir Clowdisley returned to Lisbon, and thence to Barcelona, but did nothing more in Spain. The beginning of June he sailed with the fleet for Italy to assist the Duke of Savoy, who after the battle of Turin (September 7, 1706) was enabled to carry on an offensive war with France, and laid a good design against Toulon. In this attempt he had the assistance of the English fleet, which, however, could only bombard the place, but had the good success, by that means, to burn or render unserviceable eight sail of the capital ships in that harbour.

All this time I find no mention of Sir Clowdisley's colleague (as admiral), the Earl of Peterborough,

who, it seems, from the time he left Alicante to go for Italy, had given over maritime affairs, and not without reason. For his behaviour to the King of Spain having obliged His Majesty to complain to the Queen, the ministry at home were under a necessity not to protect him any longer against the Prince he was appointed to serve. Whether his commission as Joint-Admiral was revoked, I don't know, but if not, it was superseded by that to Sir John Leake, hereafter mentioned, who had resolved not to act upon any terms with his Lordship as an Admiral for the future.

After the siege of Toulon was found impracticable, the army drew off, and Sir Clowdisley returned to the Straits, 'not a little mortified,' says Lediard, 'at the miscarriage, though he contributed all in his power.'¹ So leaving Sir Thomas Dilkes at Gibraltar with nine sail of the line and some frigates, with the rest he bent his course homewards. Soon after, Sir Thomas Dilkes died at Leghorn (whereby the command of the squadron devolved upon Captain Hicks, as senior officer) and Sir Clowdisley himself made a much more unfortunate end, being cast away upon certain rocks of Scilly, called 'Bishop and Clerks,' the 22nd of October, 1707, at night, and all the ship's company, consisting of between eight and nine hundred officers, gentlemen and seamen, were drowned, besides two other ships, which were lost with their companies, and some other ships, whose companies were saved. It was very unhappy for an Admiral, reputed one of the greatest sea commanders we ever had, to die by an error in his profession; which could not have happened, if a proper care had not been wanting. However, it raised the generous pity of the whole nation for

¹ Vol. ii, p. 821.

the loss of so brave and honest a man and so good an officer, and procured him the honour of a public funeral, and a monument in Westminster Abbey at the Queen's expense, as if he had died honourably in battle ; eternizing him by an action which should have been drowned with him ; from which, as Mr. Addison has justly observed, ' it was impossible for him to reap any honour.'¹

The consequence of Sir Clowdisley Shovell's death was the promotion of Sir John Leake, in right of seniority. But this was not done immediately, for he continued to act in his command at Portsmouth, and to expedite the ships which were to form his squadron till the 12th of December, 1707, when he struck his flag and went for London, in order to prepare for his voyage. It was then that His Royal Highness was pleased to acquaint him that he had appointed him Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Fleet²; though he did not receive his commission till a month afterwards. So that instead of going abroad with the white flag

¹ *Spectator*, vol. i, No. 26.

² The Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet is an officer appointed *pro hac vice*, as appears by his commission, which runs thus : ' We do hereby constitute and appoint you Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet employed, and to be employed in the present expedition, with power to wear the Union flag at the main topmast-head.' But if the admiral appointed to this office be not the senior admiral, or admiral of the Red, in that case he does not hoist the Union flag till he is clear of the land, and strikes it again upon his return, as soon as he makes the land of England, hoisting his proper flag. I know of but one instance to the contrary, and that is mentioned by Mr. Burchett in his *Transactions at Sea*, in the year 1689. He says, ' Admiral Russell, then Admiral of the Blue, being appointed to bring the Queen of Spain from Holland to the Groyne, was ordered to wear the Union flag at the main topmast-head, a thing never done before in the Channel but by the Chief Admiral of the Fleet.'—*Author's Note*.

at the fore topmost-head as Vice-Admiral, he was now to have the honour to go in the first station of command in the British fleet. Upon this occasion, as usual, he was to make choice of a First Captain, who is so called by way of eminence as being, not only the first of the captains allowed to the Admiral's ship, but by reason of his office taking place of all other captains in the fleet. The office of First Captain to the Admiral of the Fleet has always been esteemed a post of considerable trust and honour, being of the nature of a vice or deputy to the Admiral, to see all his orders carried into execution. And consequently if he is a vigilant officer, it is a great relief to the Admiral in the management of the fleet. For this reason and the honour of the chief flag, he is allowed to sit in councils of war of Flag Officers, and to have the rank and pay of a Rear-Admiral.

The person that Sir John declared (I cannot say *chose*) his first Captain was Sir Thomas Hardy, Kt., the same whose trial had made so much noise amongst the merchants, as has been related, and wherein he was honourably acquitted. Nevertheless, it was thought an imprudent choice. For besides that it was unpopular, he was a man whose courage was much questioned, and who was known to be no seaman¹; and of that unhappy, proud, malicious disposition, that it was impossible to live a day with him, without observing some ill-natured act; in all things the

¹ Sir Thomas was a native of Guernsey. He had been clerk to Admiral Churchill when he was Captain, and from thence was made a lieutenant, when he was so very ignorant of sea affairs, he did not know one rope from another. He was soon after made a captain; and having the good fortune to be sent to England with the news of the success of Sir George Rooke at Vigo, he was knighted, and received a reward of £1000 without having signalized himself by any action.—*Author's Note.*

very opposite to Sir John, who would have chosen (could he have chosen freely) his brother-in-law Captain Stephen Martin, who had been his captain ever since he had been a flag-officer ; whose bravery and conduct he had fully experienced, when he had no other captain to assist him in the command of his ship, and the management of a greater fleet than was likely to be under his command for the future. It was so natural to suppose him the man, that none but Sir Thomas applied for it ; but having neither qualification nor any degree of merit to induce Sir John to make him his choice, he procured it by a powerful interest which could not be refused, namely, by the recommendation of Admiral Churchill. As to Captain Martin, when he found what a powerful interest was made for Sir Thomas, and by whom, he readily gave it up, and at Sir John's desire, submitted to act under a person the most obnoxious to him, and accordingly was appointed second captain.

The 8th of January, 1707-8, Sir John received his commission, dated that day, appointing him Admiral of the White squadron of Her Majesty's fleet ; and another constituting him Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Fleet, and with them the following instructions :

His Royal Highness, Prince George of Denmark, &c., Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.,

Instructions for Sir John Leake, Kt., Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Fleet.

Whereas it is Her Majesty's pleasure that you shall command her several ships and vessels, which now are or shall be ordered into the Mediter-

ranean for the next year's service ; and whereas it is necessary that you should proceed to Lisbon as soon as 'tis possible, with the ships named in the margin hereof,¹ and there join those which were under the command of the late Sir Thomas Dilkes, Rear-Admiral of the Red squadron of Her Majesty's fleet : you are therefore hereby required and directed forthwith to repair to Spithead, and take upon you the command of such of the aforesaid ships named in the margin hereof as shall be there, and the others so soon as they arrive at that place, and use your utmost care and diligence in the getting them ready in all respects for service ; and in the making up their provisions to four months for their highest complements of men ; the which you are to cause to be kept up complete until they sail on their intended voyage.

When they shall be ready for the sea, you are without loss of time to proceed with them to Lisbon, carrying thither under your protection all merchant ships and vessels, which shall be bound to Portugal ; particularly such as are employed by the officers of the navy, ordnance, victualling or transportation, for which you are to make particular enquiry ; and in case there shall be any trade bound to Viana, Oporto, and the other northern ports of Portugal, you are to appoint one of Her Majesty's ships to see them in safety to those ports.

When you arrive at Lisbon, you are to take under your command Her Majesty's ships, which are mentioned in the margin,² or if not there,

¹ Albemarle, Nassau, Bedford, Berwick, Northumberland, Kent, Burford, Royal Oak, Firme, Essex, Ranelagh, Colchester, Terrible (fireship).

² Elizabeth, Norfolk, Stirling Castle, Warspight, Chichester, Cornwall, Lancaster, Cambridge, Rupert, Defiance, Restora-

so soon as they shall come to that port, and cause all possible dispatch to be made in the cleaning and refitting them, and putting such, as shall have least to do unto them, first into a condition in all respects for the sea.

And you are from time to time to employ the whole, or part of Her Majesty's ships, as also the ships of the States General, which are or shall be joined to you and be put under your command, in such manner as shall be judged most advantageous to Her Majesty's service by a council of war of English and Dutch Flag Officers ; either by taking, sinking, burning, or otherwise destroying the enemy's ships of war, or those of the merchants ; in the molesting their trade, annoying their coasts, or doing what injury you can unto them on shore.

And as you are to hold as frequent correspondence as possibly you can with Her Majesty's ministers at the courts of Spain, Portugal and Savoy ; so are you upon any application, which shall be made unto you by either of those Princes, to use your best endeavours with the fleet under your command to assist His Majesty the King of Spain in the reduction of that kingdom and the territories thereunto belonging to his obedience, in the transporting or aiding in the transportation of any troops, or any other services which shall be proposed unto you ; as also in the assisting His Majesty the King of Portugal, and His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy, in what they shall desire of you, according as shall be judged most proper by a council of war as aforesaid ; upon your communicating the same to, and debating

tion, York, Dunkirk, Winchester, Triton, Centurion, Surlings, Fowey, Milford, Poole.

those matters with, them, regard being always had to the naval strength and motions of the enemy in or about the Mediterranean.

You are to give such directions to the Commissioner and officers of the Navy, and agents to the Commissioners of the Victualling and Sick and Wounded, which are at Lisbon, as you shall judge proper for the dispatch of their several duties, in their refitting, cleaning and victualling the ships of the fleet, or taking care of the sick and wounded seamen, and exchange of prisoners at war; and if any of the officers of the Navy, Victualling, or Sick and Wounded, shall commit such misdemeanor as may render them unfit to be longer continued in the service, you are hereby empowered to remove any of them (except the Commissioner of the Navy) from their employments, and to put others in their stead; as you are also to fill up any vacancies which may happen amongst them by death whilst you are abroad: and you are to give me an account of what you do in these two cases, for my further directions.

And whereas application hath been made to Her Majesty that some of her ships of war may be employed for the security of the King of Portugal's Brazil fleet expected home, you are to inform yourself in what manner His Majesty does desire the same may be done, and what number of ships they do propose to add unto those of Her Majesty's for this service: and then you are to consider at a council of war what you may be able to do to satisfy His Majesty therein, with regard to other services recommended to you, and give the necessary directions accordingly.

And whereas there have been advices received that the enemy's ships do frequently hover in and

about the mouth of the Straits insomuch that the Trade of Her Majesty's subjects is thereby much exposed and interrupted: you are to endeavour, in the best manner you shall be able, to have some cruising ships in those parts, to free the same from the enemy, and thereby secure our merchant ships and vessels passing into and out of the Mediterranean.

And since it is yet uncertain what number of ships the French do design to employ in the Mediterranean; you are from time to time to endeavour, by all means that possibly you can, to get information thereof; and when the whole strength appointed to be under your command for the next year's service shall be together, you are to call a council of war; and if, upon considering the intelligence you may receive of the preparations of the enemy, or what ships they can be able to set forth from Toulon, and the services recommended to your care, it shall be judged that you have more ships with you than may be necessary to encounter the strength of the enemy, and to perform the aforesaid service; you are then to send back to England such and so many ships, both English and Dutch, as at a council of war shall be thought most proper; giving them the necessary Instructions to bring the trade from Lisbon and the northern ports of Portugal; that so the said ships may be employed on service at home, which possibly may require them.

And whereas it may be reasonable, in regard of the small number of Flag Officers of both nations which may be with you, to add five of the captains of Great Britain, and a proportionable number of Dutch captains, to such councils of war which you may have occasion to call: I do hereby

empower you to do the same, at such times as you shall judge it proper.

In case application shall be made unto you by the commanding officer at Gibraltar for such ammunition, stores or provisions, as the garrison shall stand in need of, you are to cause the same to be supplied from time to time from the fleet under your command, so far as it can be well spared, taking care that receipts be taken from the proper officers, into whose custody the said provisions, stores, &c., shall be delivered ; and as you are to inform yourself from time to time of the condition of the said garrison of Gibraltar, so are you when the winter season approaches, to consider at a council of war, what may be necessary to be done for supplying the same with what may be wanted, and for the guarding the coast of Portugal as the treaty requires.

And whereas there are several marines soldiers,¹ which have been put on shore at divers places on the coast of the kingdom of Spain ; you are to endeavour as soon as may be, to take them all on board the fleet, that they may serve therein, except those which are in garrison in the city or castle of Alicante, where it is necessary they should remain.

And since it may happen, that the ships under your command may take several of the enemy's subjects prisoners, either in their ships of war or trading vessels or otherwise ; you are to take effectual care, by necessary orders to the captains under your command, that such prisoners be put on shore as soon as 'tis possible at some place where the enemy may have an officer to

¹ *Sic.*

receive them ; and that certificates be taken from the said officers for them, expressing not only their names, but their qualities ; the which certificates are to be transmitted by the first opportunity to the Commissioners for Sick and Wounded, and for exchange of prisoners at war, that they may demand the like number of prisoners, Her Majesty's subjects, in lieu of them. But in case the said prisoners cannot conveniently be put on shore where there is a French officer, the like receipts are to be taken from the officers of the ships, whereunto they shall belong.

When you shall be out of the Channel, you are to put the ships under your command to short allowance of provisions, of six to four men's allowance, or otherwise, as the necessity of the service shall require ; assuring the seamen that they shall be duly paid for the same.

And you are by all opportunities which shall present [themselves] to send me an account of your proceedings, and of all occurrences. Given under my hand, this 8th day of January, 1707-8.

GEORGE.

By command of His Royal Highness,

J. BURCHETT.

Sir John continued in London some days after he received these instructions, in order to complete the necessary preparations for his voyage. And having taken leave of Her Majesty and His Royal Highness, he set out for Portsmouth, and arrived there the 17th of January at night. The next day he hoisted the white flag at the main topmast-head, as Admiral of the White, on board the Albemarle at Spithead, and was saluted by the garrison of Portsmouth and all the ships

of war there. And two days after, he hoisted the Union flag as Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Fleet, and was thereupon saluted by the garrison with thirty-one guns and by each ship with twenty-one. The same day he arrived at Portsmouth, he received the Prince's orders of the day before, directing him to proceed to sea as soon as the Dutch arrived with them, and as many English as should be then ready, without staying for the rest of his squadron. This order seems to have been very inconsistent with the circumstances the ships at Portsmouth were then known to be in ; for at this time there were but four sail ready, and two of them under orders for other services ; and there was such a general scarcity of seamen, that if he had had directions to take all the men that belonged to the ships, and could have got them on board, they would hardly have been sufficient to have manned those four ships. For though the seamen absent were advertised (by His Highness's direction) in the *Gazette* to return to their respective ships, it had little or no immediate effect ; and afterwards when they came down, they kept out of the way for fear of being turned over. The *Essex*, who with the *Firme* was sailed to convoy the *Topsham*¹ trade to Plymouth, though she had near her complement of men, was obliged to borrow thirty seamen ; and there was not only an extreme want of seamen, but even of men in general. For in a letter Sir John sent to the Prince's secretary he acquaints him that the nine sail in that harbour, which were to be a part of his squadron, were 477 men short of complement,

¹ *Topsham* was at this time the chief port of the *Exe* and the sea gate of *Exeter*.

besides the marines which amounted to as many more. He recommended this affair to the consideration of His Highness's council several times, desiring them to come to some resolutions thereupon, and showing the impossibility of complying with his orders to sail upon the arrival of the Dutch, unless he was empowered to take some men out of the other ships there. Upon which, at length, after repeated instances upon that head, he received orders the 28th instant, acquainting him that they had ordered him 150 men from the Assurance at Plymouth, and 100 from the Ranelagh; and empowering him to take the remainder, to make up the 477, out of the ships in that harbour. But notwithstanding this order, he laboured under great difficulties, the men still absconding; so that he was forced to order them that appeared at their musters, to be forthwith discharged into the ships they were to go in; and to direct their officers to acquaint them that if they did not repair on board they would lose their wages. As to the 150 men for ¹ the Assurance; he says in another letter, he should have little dependence upon them, unless they were ordered him at Spithead, in some of Her Majesty's ships at Plymouth, that they might be paid their wages, and not go to sea without money or clothes: which they must unavoidably do, if he took them on board off of that place; and but very little service could be expected from men in such a condition, besides the hindrance of time in distributing them to the several ships, if the weather should not be very fair. Therefore he had rather they should remain where they were, and they might be of service to man the ships that were to

¹ (?) From.

follow him. As to the marines, there was not much less difficulty. Some were at Plymouth, others elsewhere, none at Portsmouth; and the 28th instant, when Major Lee's company consisting of seventy-six men were put into vessels at Southampton, in order to go on board the Admiral's own ship the *Albemarle*, they mutinied in general for their pay, so that the officers were obliged to let them go ashore again into quarters. Upon the whole, (as Sir John expressed himself in his letter to the Prince's secretary upon that occasion) 'nothing could be more vexatious.'

In the meantime he received His Royal Highness's directions to follow all such orders as he should receive from Her Majesty; and in pursuance of several other orders, he made detachments from Portsmouth to convoy the Trade. The 2nd of February he received orders to proceed upon his voyage with the utmost dispatch without staying for the Dutch, and make the best of his way off of Plymouth, taking with him all store-ships, victuallers, transport ships, and other merchant ships and vessels bound his way; and to call the *Essex* and *Firme* (two of his squadron) from Torbay or Plymouth, in case they should have convoyed the *Topsham* trade thither, as they had been directed to do; from which place he was also to take the *Burford* and *Terrible* fireship, two more of his squadron; and if Captain Walker with his squadron and the *Virginia* and *Canary Trade* were not sailed from Plymouth (from which place he was ordered to convoy the said fleet 100 leagues from Scilly, and then cruise in the Soundings), he was in that case to order him to join his squadron off of Plymouth, and proceed with him and the merchant ships so far into the sea, as he should think proper for their security,

and then leave Captain Walker to follow his Instructions. In compliance with these orders, the next morning he dispatched the Colchester off of Torbay and so to Plymouth, with directions to the commanders of the Essex and Firme, and to Captain Walker, to join him upon his appearing off of that place with an ensign in his main top-mast shrouds, and firing two guns distinctly ; and that, if the wind continued easterly, they might expect him in a day or two.

The 4th, the wind coming to the N.E. by N., Sir John intended to sail ; but before noon that¹ the tide served to weigh, it came to the E. by N. so that the transports and trade could not turn out from Stokes Bay to Spithead. The same day about noon, the Dutch merchant ships with their convoy arrived, consisting in all of about fifty sail. The following day it blew so extreme hard, that the ships could not possibly get up their anchors. The 6th, he gave out the line of battle, consisting of twenty-five sail, a frigate, a fireship and a yacht, with a Vice and Rear-Admiral, besides the Dutch convoy of five sail. The place of rendez-vous, in case of separation, with the wind easterly, was Lisbon ; but if westerly before they get out of the Channel, and were to the westward of the Start, then Torbay was the place ; and if the fleet was not there, then at St. Helens. But to those ships of the line, which were not to proceed with him to Lisbon, the rendez-vous was only, in case of separation before they got out of the Channel as above, at Torbay or St. Helens. The usual directions were likewise given to be observed in drawing into a line of battle ahead, or abreast of each other, at a cable's

¹ When.

distance from the ship astern or on the larboard side.¹ The signal for knowing each other in the day was that the weathermost ship should spread an ensign in his main top-gallant or main topmast shrouds, and fire two guns distinctly; and the leewardmost to answer by spreading an ensign in his fore top-gallant or fore topmast shrouds, and firing four guns distinctly. To know each other in the night, the weathermost ship to hoist four lights at his mizzen peak, and the leewardmost to answer by showing the like number of lights of an equal height, where they might be best seen. And because there was so large a fleet of merchant ships under his care, he made the following disposition for their security in sailing. One ship to keep about two leagues ahead of him in the day, and another two leagues of her; and in sight of the Admiral's lights by night. Four sail to keep to the southward of the fleet, at a convenient distance from each other; four more sail to the northward of the fleet in like manner, and three sail to keep astern to secure the rear. No ship was to chase without a signal, nor to lose company as they would answer the contrary. And when he would part with Captain Walker and his squadron with the Virginia and Canary trade, the signal was a blue flag at the fore topmast-head, and a gun fired.

These dispositions being made, in the afternoon Sir John sailed from Spithead with the wind N.E. The next day it came north, and N.N.W., and continued between that and the N. by E. till the 10th, which served to carry him about four leagues to the westward of Plymouth; but then shifting to the W.S.W., S.W., and S., he was forced to bear away for Torbay, where

¹ For the Permanent Instructions at this time, see N.R.S., vol. xxix, pp. 188-199.

he anchored the next day about ten at night with his squadron and about 180 merchant ships. Off of Portland he was joined by the Burford, Essex, Firme and Terrible fireship from Plymouth the former of which he ordered back to give Captain Walker notice of his coming to join him. And the next day she rejoined him with the Colchester in company, but no other ship from Plymouth, the tide falling out so late that the Trade could not get out of Catwater.

The next day, after he came into Torbay, the wind was S.S.E. And before night it shifted to the S.E., E.S.E., and E. by S. ; blew very hard ; and brought in a great swell, so that there was no possibility of getting up their anchors. The next day it continued to the southward, as it did the two following ; but the 16th, coming about to the E. by N. he endeavoured to sail from Torbay. But before they could all get under sail, it blew so hard with thick rainy weather and a great sea, that they could not get out. And having received advice that morning of twenty-eight sail of Frenchmen-of-war and some privateers, he immediately sent orders to Captain Walker at Plymouth not to sail out of the Channel with his squadron without him ; and at the same time dispatched an express to the Admiralty, to acquaint His Highness of his proceedings, and desiring further directions if (upon advice of the enemy) there should be a necessity for going in company with Captain Walker out of the Channel ; because it might happen, when he had got the length of Plymouth, the wind might come to the E.S.E. or S.E. which might serve to carry him out of the Channel, but hinder their junction ; and in that case he must return to the place where he was, or St. Helens, if they were to go together ; ' though

in my opinion,' says he, 'St. Helens is much properer to sail from; and if the wind comes westerly, I think of returning thither; for the Trade with me consists of near 180 sail, and a great part of them leewardly Dutch flyboats, besides our storeships and transports that sail very heavily; and it would be impossible to get out of the bay, unless they were favoured with moderate gales at N.N.E. or N.E.'

In the meantime the French, who thought Sir John might by this time be at Lisbon and that the coast of England was unguarded with ships of war, or else¹ to oblige the Queen to recall some of her forces from the Netherlands, and keep at home the fleet under Sir John Leake, designed for King Charles's service; and imagining that the Union had caused great discontents amongst the Scotch, thought it a proper time to make a descent, to retaliate the late attempt upon Toulon, which had put the whole kingdom of France into such a consternation. For this purpose, having prepared 10,000 forces with the Pretender at their head, a strong squadron, and a sufficient number of transports, it was intended to push out the first opportunity and land them in Scotland. But their designs being timely discovered, a strong squadron was assembled in the Downs under the command of Sir George Byng, with such expedition² that the 27th of February they appeared upon the coast off of Mardyke, and a frigate being sent in, took a full view of the preparations they were making in Dunkirk, and this discovery put a stop to the embarkation at that time. But the King of France soon after sending positive orders to proceed, the troops were embarked; and the

¹ Hoped.

² Speed.

6th, they sailed out of Dunkirk. But the wind changing, they were obliged to come to an anchor in Nieuport Pits, and continued there till the 8th of March in the evening, and then sailed for Scotland.

When the ministry of England received the first notice of this intended invasion, I have not anywhere met with ; for the Parliament were not informed of it till the 4th of March, though it is manifest the ministry were acquainted with it long before, and therefore the dispatch used by our Admiralty in getting a squadron together was not so incredible as has been said. For Sir John, whilst he was at Torbay, received His Royal Highness's orders, dated the 18th of February, reciting that, whereas he had ordered Captain Walker at Plymouth to repair with his squadron immediately to St. Helens, leaving six sail with the Virginia and Canary Trades, Sir John was directed, in pursuance of Her Majesty's pleasure, when he proceeded to sea, to take the said ships and Trade under his direction, and convoy them from Plymouth, so far into the sea, as their way and his should lie together ; and then to order the commanders of the said convoys to put in execution their orders for proceeding on their voyages. And the reason of these orders (as he was acquainted by the Secretary's letter which accompanied them) was, that the enemy were coming out very strong from Dunkirk, with a design to make some attempt, but where was uncertain ; insomuch, that it was absolutely necessary a good squadron of Her Majesty's ships should be got together without the loss of a moment's time ; and therefore, if Captain Walker was in Torbay, it was His Highness's pleasure he should hasten him away to St. Helens, since it was of the greatest

importance to Her Majesty's service. Pursuant to these orders, he sent directions to the ships with the Trade at Plymouth to join him, upon his appearance off of that place.

The 21st, he sailed from Torbay with thirteen English men-of-war, five Dutch and the Trade. The next day he was off of Plymouth, and sent in the Colchester to give notice of his approach, and lay by for the Trade from thence, which joined him in the evening with the Hampshire and Charles Galley. But not being certain whether they all [had] got out, and night coming on and the wind inclining to the southward, he was obliged to stand to sea to get an offing. The next morning the wind shifted to the S.S.E. and south, with very thick weather and rain ; and being likely to continue, he bore away at first for Torbay. But the weather proving so thick all that day, that it was not safe to bear in with the land, as the wind was, he continued his course up the Channel, and the 25th anchored at St. Helens, with ten sail of English and five Dutch of the line, two frigates, and between three and four hundred sail of merchant ships ; the Oxford (which was in the rear of the fleet) with one ship laden with naval stores, one transport, and some few of the trade only being missing, which put back into Torbay ; and it was impossible to prevent the separation, for all that day, and part of the night, when Sir John bore away for St. Helens, the weather was so very thick, that they could not see a quarter of a mile any way ; and it was to be admired in that case, that out of so great a number so few were wanting.

In the meantime, the squadron with Sir George Byng being forced from their station upon the coast of Dunkirk, they made down the Channel.

The Admiralty, it seems, believed he might have put into Portsmouth; for about the time that Sir John came to St. Helens, two expresses arrived for Sir George, directing him to fortify and secure the harbour of Portsmouth. Whereupon Sir John issued his orders to the Commissioner of the dockyard to make the proper dispositions for fortifying the harbour, and getting ships ready to sink in the harbour's mouth, as His Highness's orders expressed. But at the same time he acquainted him that he hoped now he was there, they should have no occasion to sink the ships as yet, though he would have them ready. He likewise directed the captains of the ships in the harbour to give the Commissioner their utmost assistance; and took care himself, soon after, to see that these orders were duly executed; having before dispatched an express to the Prince's secretary acquainting him that he was arrived at St. Helens with ten sail of English and five Dutch of the line, and two frigates, ready for any service His Royal Highness should please to direct; but that he did not find the Dutch were inclinable to go with him to the Downs if he should be ordered thither. In the meantime he formed his squadron into a line of battle at anchor, to prevent any surprise from the enemy, and directed the *Charles Galley* without him about two leagues,¹ with orders to Captain Walker to proceed directly for the Downs to join Sir George Byng, believing him to be there, he having passed by him undiscovered in the thick weather the 24th at night.

The 1st of March, the *Oxford* with the *Trade* that had put back into Torbay in the late hazy weather arrived, none being now missing. At

¹ To take station about six miles to seaward of him.

night eight sail appearing in sight, and Sir John believing them to be the ships under the command of Captain Walker from Plymouth, ordered his lieutenant to go off to him, with his orders for proceeding directly to the Downs; but the weather proving hazy he could not find them. The next morning early, the same ships were discovered at anchor, and proving to be Captain Walker, he was ordered to join Sir George Byng forthwith, where-ever he should hear of him. Accordingly he weighed, but to no purpose, there being but little wind and that directly contrary, so that he was obliged to anchor again in the evening about two leagues without Sir John. But the 3rd, in the morning, he sailed to the eastward, and happily joined Sir George in the Downs the day after.

The contrary winds which had prevented Sir John's proceeding to Lisbon, and had been looked upon as a disappointment, proved a lucky incident at this juncture; for had he sailed, our sea-ports had been unguarded and exposed to any attempts of the enemy, and Sir George Byng could not have received the reinforcement of Captain Walker's squadron, which he seemed to wait for, to give him the greater superiority over the enemy, and thereby become victor without a blow, well knowing the doubtful chance of war, and the hazard of a battle at so critical a conjuncture. Sir George, indeed, was blamed and railed at, as if he had been deficient in his duty. Others pretended to say that he had actually taken the Pretender, and might have taken the whole fleet, but that he had positive orders from the Queen to let both him and them escape; but the House of Commons having enquired into it, laid nothing to his charge. It is hardly to be

imagined,¹ but it must have been intended to frustrate the enemy's designs, if not to take and destroy their fleet. But it is certain, such delays were used that gave them an opportunity to go to Scotland²; and had they met with the encourage-

¹ Sc., that he was acting under orders to allow the Pretender and his fleet to escape.

² February 27, Sir George Byng anchored with 27 sail in Gravelines Pits, and going in a frigate, discovered 27 sail in Dunkirk, small and great. But soon after Sir George being driven from his station, the French came out into Dunkirk Road, sailed thence the 6th of March, but were put back, and remained till the evening in Nieuport Pits, and then sailed for Scotland. Sir George returned to the Downs the 2nd of March, having 32 sail. On the 4th, Captain Walker joined him with eight sail, when he had 40 sail of the line, besides frigates. He sailed the 6th in quest of the enemy, and did not hear till the 9th, from Ostend, that they were sailed. And then making a detachment to convoy the forces from Ostend, at a council of war it was resolved to pursue the enemy. The 13th, he saw them in the Firth of Edinburgh; when that night, by the signals he made, the enemy had notice of his arrival, and though embayed, got off except one ship.—See Lediard and Burchett's *Histories*, and Boyer's *Life of Queen Anne*.

By this account, it is plain Sir George was in the Downs four days whilst the enemy were in Dunkirk Road, and three days at sea in quest of them, whilst they lay in Nieuport Pits, either of them not above ten or twelve leagues distant, almost within sight; yet was so profoundly ignorant, that he neither knew where they were, nor when they sailed. It is strange he should have no intelligence (by cruisers or others) of the enemy, whom he was to watch; and that he should so readily at first discover the ships in Dunkirk harbour, and afterwards not be able to find them in the Road (open to the sea) in three days, where they certainly must have been, if not sailed. It is almost as extraordinary to surprise an enemy's squadron in a bay with a superior fleet, and take but one ship; and upon the whole, showed such extraordinary conduct, that could have been justified only by positive orders.—*Author's Note* (cp. Burchett, pp. 740-8; and Lediard, vol. ii, 827-30.)

ment upon their arrival which they expected, the descent had been made before the English fleet could have prevented it, and the consequences have gone much further than were ever intended.

But to return to Sir John Leake, with his squadron and the Trade at St. Helens and Spithead.

Having sent an express immediately upon his arrival to the Prince's secretary that he was put in there, the 27th of February he received His Royal Highness's orders to proceed the first opportunity of wind and weather to Lisbon, judging, no doubt, that the fleet with Sir George Byng, especially when joined by Captain Walker, would be superior to any squadron the enemy could bring to molest us. He was likewise directed to send the Hampshire and Charles Galley to look out for the homeward-bound East India ships, which he put under orders accordingly. But they could not come to sail till four days afterwards.

The 28th, Sir John ordered the Guernsey and Burlington to Spithead to observe his signals, that when the wind came fair for his proceeding to the westward and he made the signal for unmooring, they might do the same; and, if the tide served to come from thence, to get under sail, (without staying for his signal for weighing) and bring out the trade to join him at St. Helens. But in case the wind should be so far easterly that the Trade could not get all out in one tide, and that he made the signal with a blue flag at the fore topmast-head and fired a gun, they were then to proceed through the Needles with the remainder of the ships, and join him between that place and Portland, taking such an offing after they got out, that if the wind came southerly, they might weather Dunnose, if they should be obliged to return. The Burlington was likewise

ordered to sail in the rear of the fleet, with an ensign in his main topmast shrouds, that when they joined the fleet at St. Helens, or after they had passed through the Needles, the Admiral might by that know that all the Trade was out. The rendezvous in case of separation with the wind westerly, before they got out of the Channel and were to the westward of the Start, was Torbay ; but if he was not there, then St. Helens was the place.

The 3rd of March, at five in the morning, the wind coming to the E. by N., Sir John made the signal to unmoor. Afterwards it came to the S.E. but about eleven it was N.N.E., whereupon he weighed and stood without Bembridge Ledge, and then lay by for the Trade. At the same time he dispatched the Hampshire and Charles Galley to pursue their orders. At four in the afternoon, the Trade being the greatest part out, and the rest under sail, he bore away and stood S.W., and S.W. and by S.,¹ the wind N.N.E. ; at five o'clock E.N.E. ; and by eight at night very little wind at S.S.W. ; standing to the southward all night. At six the next morning was a small breeze at S.W. Then he tacked to the northward, but at ten, seeing no likelihood of a fair wind, and a great part of the Trade three or four leagues to leeward of him, he bore away for St. Helens, where he anchored in the afternoon.

Sir John never had more uneasiness than upon this occasion. The difficulty he had met with first in manning his squadron was very great. Contrary winds had no less perplexed him and hindered his proceeding. And the few opportunities that might have served to carry him away, he had been prevented in by the encumbrance of

¹ S.W. by S.

so great a number of merchant ships under his convoy. In the meantime to receive repeated orders, pressing him to sail, was very vexatious, when his utmost endeavours could not do it. But he more particularly resented a letter he received from the Prince's secretary of the 3rd of March, directing him to proceed without a moment's loss of time, and with the following expression, 'But your zeal,' says he, 'for Her Majesty's service is so well known, that there is no occasion to quicken you.' This he thought a glancing reflection upon his conduct; and therefore in his answer the 6th instant, he says he hoped he had not given any just occasion for belief that he would omit any opportunity of doing his duty; and unless he was favoured with a fair wind for seven or eight days, his endeavours to get to Lisbon would be to little purpose, whilst he had 400 sail to take care of; unless the masters of the merchant ships would be more diligent, a great many of whom, would neither observe his signals for sailing, nor endeavour to keep him company at sea; and that there was not fewer than thirty sail left behind when he sailed last, several of their masters taking a journey that day to Godalming to see their wives, though he was unmoored the day before.

But the 7th in the morning, the wind coming to the N. by E. the Admiral made the signal to unmoor. By seven o'clock it veered to the N.E. and blew hard. At two in the afternoon very few of the merchant ships coming out, he made the signal with a blue flag at the fore topmast-head for the Guernsey and Burlington to go through the Needles with them. Soon after, he made the signal to weigh and got under sail. By eight o'clock Dunnose bore W. by S. [at] four leagues' distance, when they lay by, with their heads to the

eastward till two the next morning. Then the fleet wore and brought to on the other tack, and some time after made sail and stood in for the Needles, for the trade that was to come out that way to join the fleet, which they did by noon. Whereupon the Admiral made sail, and steered down the Channel with his squadron, nine sail of transports, (on board of which were the regiments of Barrymore and Paston, consisting of about 1500 men) and between three and four hundred sail of merchantmen. At nine the wind shifted to the S.W. and blowing hard with thick weather, he lay by with the fleet, to give the merchant ships [an] opportunity to come up with him. But about noon it clearing up, he wore and stood to the southward under main and fore courses. From six to eight in the evening he lay by again, when the wind shifting to the N.W. and N.N.W. he made sail and stood to the westward. The next morning the wind came to the N. by E. and soon after at N.E., and the Dartmouth was dispatched to look into Plymouth, and fetch from thence the outward-bound trade, the fleet steering N.W. for the Start, which at noon bore N. by E., distant two leagues. In the afternoon they brought to off of the Eddystone, to stay for the ships from Plymouth, which soon after joined him; the captain of the Dartmouth bringing the Admiral some duplicates of letters and orders he had received before.

From Plymouth Sir John expected to have been joined by his First Captain Sir Thomas Hardy, not having seen him ever since he hoisted his flag as Admiral of the Fleet at Spithead; and the multiplicity of business, which attended the direction of so large a number of ships, as well as the management of all affairs besides at Spithead

and Portsmouth, would have put him under great inconveniences, if he had not had the satisfaction of his brother-in-law, Captain Martin, for captain of his ship or second captain ; who having acted in that double capacity with him during all the time he commanded abroad, was so well acquainted with those affairs that made the matter very easy to him. Sir Thomas took so much time to equip himself for his voyage, as if he intended to follow Sir John to the Mediterranean and have the honour and benefit of being First Captain without the trouble ; presuming too much upon the interest that made him so ; very inconsistent with the duty he owed the public service, and the respect due to the Admiral who appointed him ; at the same time too when he had most occasion for him. At length Sir Thomas returned to Plymouth, thinking to find the fleet there, but coming to Exeter, he heard that Sir John had been joined by the trade off of Plymouth and sailed the day before. Supposing him therefore to be gone to Lisbon, there was nothing left but to follow him thither. The *Burford*, a Third Rate of 70 guns, was then at Plymouth, and the Admiralty had sent orders for her joining the Admiral at St. Helens ; but before they could get thither, Sir Thomas had embarked on board her and sailed for Lisbon (as Sir John was now informed) a fortnight before.

The 11th of March, the *Bristol* came into the fleet from Plymouth, where she had been repairing some damages. At night the Admiral lay by for the merchant ships to come up with him, and counted 342 sail. The 13th, being in Lat. 45.57 N. he made the appointed signal ; whereupon the *Guernsey*, *Oxford*, *Bristol*, *Burlington*, *Dartmouth*, and *Greyhound*, left the fleet with the *Virginia* and

Canary trade. Two days after, being about a degree to the southward of Cape Finisterre, he ordered the *Essex* to see the Trade safe in, bound to Oporto, Figueira da Foz and the northern ports of Portugal ; and the 17th, he directed Sir Edward Whitaker, Rear-Admiral of the Red in the Northumberland, to proceed before him to Lisbon, to forward the refitting of the ships expected there from Italy. Soon after, the wind which had hitherto continued fair, shifted to the S.S.W., S.W., and W., accompanied with very bad weather, which held for about ten days, in which time two Dutch men-of-war lost company with him. But the 27th, he arrived in Lisbon River with his squadron and convoy, consisting of about 130 sail. Here he found Sir Edward Whitaker in the Northumberland, the *Burford* with Sir Thomas Hardy, and Captain Hicks with the squadron from Italy, consisting of seventeen sail, four hospital ships, and three bombs. The 30th, Sir John waited upon the King of Portugal and met with a very gracious reception. The next morning the *Essex* came in, having broke her fore-yard, and brought with her part of her convoy, the weather having been so bad they were not able to get into the ports they were bound to, except some that got into Figueira. As to the two Dutch men-of-war, which were separated in the late bad weather, one of them having lost all her masts, it was supposed put back ; which was the only mischance that happened to the fleet during the voyage.

CHAPTER II ¹

He sails with the fleet and transports from Lisbon, and surprises a fleet of the enemy's corn-ships, which saves Barcelona and the Confederate army from the danger of famine.

THE arrival of the fleet caused great joy at Lisbon, and encouraged the Portuguese to proceed with more resolution in raising recruits than they had done in the winter. In the meantime Sir John, having caused the regiments of Barrymore and Paston to be put on shore, applied himself with the utmost diligence to the fitting of the fleet ; and ordered the Agent Victualler to complete the provisions, as well of the ships that came with him as [of] those he found there, to six months, that they might not be hindered from proceeding upon service as soon as they were ready for the sea, as too often had happened.

At Lisbon he found the following orders from His Royal Highness.

His Royal Highness George, &c., Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c., and Generalissimo, &c.,

Whereas from the intelligence that hath been received of the enemy's proceedings, it is reasonable to believe that they will make their greatest, if not their only, preparations at the ports in

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 31st March to 16th May, 1708.

this¹ part of France, but more especially at Dunkirk and Brest ; and they having, to man the ships which they are fitting out at those places, drawn very considerable numbers of men from the south parts of the said kingdom, insomuch that there may not be an occasion for your stay at Lisbon till such time as you can go up the Straits with the whole number of ships put under your command ;² and whereas it is absolutely necessary that the horse in Italy, which are to serve in Spain, should be conducted thither with all the dispatch that possibly may be : you are therefore hereby required and directed, so soon as you arrive at Lisbon, to take under your command such ships of Her Majesty's and the States General, as shall be in a condition to proceed up the Straits, and also all the transport ships, and make the best of your way with them to Vado on the coast of Italy, leaving orders for the rest of the ships which are to remain abroad to follow you from Lisbon as soon as they shall be ready, and join you at such place as you shall judge most proper, either by detachments or together.

When you arrive on the coast of Italy, you are to give an account thereof to Her Majesty's minister at the Duke of Savoy's court, that so the horse may be forthwith embarked, and such other troops as are necessary ; and when the transport ships shall be ready to sail with them to Spain, you are to take them under your care and protection, and conduct them in safety to the port of Barcelona, or any other place the King of Spain shall direct ; and having so done, you are to

¹ The northern.

² *Sc.* . . . insomuch that there seems no longer any need for you to await at Lisbon the full number of ships designed for your Mediterranean command, &c.

consider at a council of war how Her Majesty's fleet under your command may be further employed for the advantage of the King of Spain, and govern yourself accordingly : wherein you are to have a particular regard to such services as shall be recommended to you by His Majesty, and to such Instructions as shall be sent from hence to you from the Queen or myself. Given under my hand this 19th of February, 1707-8.

GEORGE.

To Sir John Leake, Kt. Admiral, &c.

These Instructions being considered at a council of war the 31st of March, together with the general instructions to Sir John Leake of the 8th of January, it was unanimously agreed to sail from Lisbon for Vado in Italy, when the transport ships were in a readiness to receive the horse on board ; that such of Her Majesty's ships and the States General's, as could not be got ready for the sea in that time, should be ordered to follow the fleet to the coast of Catalonia, the rendez-vous being left for them at Barcelona ; where it was resolved to touch in their passage to receive His Majesty the King of Spain's commands ; and that the Winchester, Medway prize, and Drake sloop, should be left to guard the Straits' mouth till they could be reinforced by some of Her Majesty's ships that were then cleaning in Italy, or when it should be thought reasonable to make a further detachment from the fleet for that service. Having likewise considered the King of Portugal's desire for a squadron of Her Majesty's and the King of Portugal's ships, and the States General's, to cruise off of the island of Terceira till the latter end of June, to look out for the Trade expected from Brazil, and if they met, to

accompany them to Lisbon ; it was resolved that the Warspight, Rupert, Triton, and one of the ships of the States General be appointed for that service ; and after their return to Lisbon, that they should take under their care all the Trade at that place, St. Ubes¹ and the northern ports of Portugal, and convoy them to Great Britain.

When the forces brought from England were disembarked, Sir John directed the transports immediately to be put into a condition for the transportation of horse, and likewise ordered as many more to be taken up, as would be sufficient (together) for 2500 horse, with their riders and forage. But not being able to procure them, he was obliged to make use of some of those that came down the Mediterranean with Captain Hicks, for want of better. But they were generally in so bad a condition, that he could not venture to carry them to sea till they had been hauled ashore, and their bottoms searched and repaired, which necessarily took up some time. Neither was the Agent for Transportation able to get those that were hired without the countenance and application of the Admiral. Whilst this was doing, he received the following letter from His Catholic Majesty.

SIR,—The enemy having seized upon the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia, after the unfortunate business of Almanza ; and having since entered by several parts into this principality of Catalonia, most of which they have rendered themselves masters of, by taking my city of Lerida, and having also made the rest of it desolate, 'twas immediately thought that, after this, the army of the allies could subsist but a very little time there, for want of corn and forage, and that the only means

¹ See above, vol. i, p. 59 note.

both for preserving the country and subsisting the troops, which the Emperor my brother and the Elector Palatine my uncle were to send to my relief, would be to procure the necessaries from the kingdom of Sardinia.

The Rear-Admiral Dilkes, being here with his squadron going to Italy in order to embark the said troops, I proposed this matter to him, upon assurance that was given me by very good hands that the people of the said kingdom and of Cagliari, its capital city, would not fail to come under my obedience, so soon as they should have the least opportunity of declaring their zeal and affection for my person and illustrious family. And although the council of war, which was held upon this subject by the said Rear-Admiral, gave me no positive declaration at that time, their first and principal end being to bring over the abovesaid troops into Spain ; and they having no troops at hand to second the expedition in case there should be a necessity of making a descent ; I resolved nevertheless to send the Count de Cifuentes with the same squadron to Italy, in hopes that at his return with the troops which were to succour this principality, the said expedition of Sardinia might be put in execution. For otherwise, those same troops, as I advised the Duke and Prince Eugene of Savoy, instead of being assistant to me, would rather be prejudicial, and increase the harm instead of diminishing ; since both the troops already here, and those which were to come, would miserably perish for want of victuals, corn and forage.

These circumstances having been maturely weighed, after the arrival of the squadron in Italy, it was there resolved, in a council of war held at Vado, that they should go directly to Sardinia, and there land the Count de Cifuentes with the regiment of Toff. But instead of directing their course to that island, according to the resolution of the said council, Captain Hicks (who after the death of Vice-Admiral Dilkes had the command as eldest of the squadron), notwithstanding that the wind was most favourable for Sardinia, made the best of his way for Barcelona ; where being arrived with part of the fleet and of the troops, leaving the rest behind, he returned

to Lisbon. Whereby he has left my person, this principality, and the army exposed to the greatest extremities and dangers they ever were threatened with ; having no regard to the lively representations and protestations which were made to him from me, and all the ministers and generals which are at my court, to persuade him to go towards Sardinia, and from thence to Italy, to embark the Imperial and Palatine Horse, which are at the sea-side for that purpose ; and it may be, the Queen my spouse, and Prince Eugene, are likewise there with the same design. I shall not enlarge upon several circumstances, which show but too evidently the irregular conduct of this captain commandant ; nor upon the unhappy consequences which are to be apprehended, to the very great prejudice and disadvantage of the common cause ; since all the Dutch, and part of the English captains, who, moved with a true zeal, agreed with my sentiments, will not fail giving you a perfect knowledge thereof. I shall only repeat to you that, to maintain ourselves in this principality, and to preserve this army, there is no better way of effecting it than by transporting hither corn and a greater number of troops, both which may be done, provided the squadron under your orders in the river of Lisbon arrive speedily.

The famous testimonies which you have given me on several occasions, where the security of my person and the good of the common cause were depending, and especially in that of the siege and deliverance of this capital city, leave me no room to doubt but that you will use all the diligence imaginable to fly to my succour, and to secure my person and this whole army and principality of Catalonia ; the loss and entire ruin of which would otherwise be unavoidable. As for other matters, I refer you to Father Cienfugos, who will represent to you from me everything more at large ; and assuring you of my constant esteem and gratitude, I pray God keep you in His holy care, and give you and all your squadron a speedy and happy voyage. Dated from Barcelona, February 5, 1708, N.S.

CHARLES.

This letter came enclosed in the following from Father Cienfugos, Envoy from His Catholic Majesty to the Court of Portugal, dated from Lisbon the 8th of April, N.S.

MOST EXCELLENT SIR,—I very much rejoice at your Excellency's happy arrival in this port, as being what I greatly desired. And since I do not personally wait upon your Excellency to congratulate you upon your own good arrival and that of all the fleet, I remit your Excellency the enclosed letter from the Catholic King my master, to whose expressions I have nothing to add, having such experience of the known zeal, wherewith your Excellency has ever attended upon whatever relates to His Majesty's interest. His Royal person, with the whole principality of Catalonia, is in so urgent a necessity at present, that I do not doubt, but that the great love your Excellency bears to the interest of Her Britannic Majesty, the King my master's person, and the public cause, will induce you to make all possible haste to his succour with the fleet, as one who is so much accustomed to arrive in time upon the like urgent occasions. I also beg your Excellency will be pleased to order that about twenty-two Spanish officers and eight other persons may be transported with the ships to Catalonia. They will take care to provide necessaries for their subsistence, and may be very serviceable to the common cause in Catalonia, there being some officers amongst them of much experience and valour. God preserve your Excellency many years, as I desire. (Dated, &c.).

ALBANO CIENFUGOS.

To this letter Sir John returned an answer that he should always be ready to show the affection he had for His Catholic Majesty's service, and that of the common cause ; and so soon as he was informed of the names of those officers and other persons which he mentioned were designed for Barcelona, he would give orders that they might be embarked amongst the ships bound thither

with him ; and which was accordingly done soon after.

The 2nd of April the Admiral put the Burford and Nassau underorders for proceeding to Gibraltar the first opportunity of wind and weather, to convoy some transports thither with clothing, recruits, &c., for that garrison, together with the trade bound that way, which should be then ready. The latter of these ships had the Morocco Ambassador Cardenash on board, to be landed at Gibraltar, Her Majesty not granting his passage to Tangier, till her Ambassador Captain Delavall was restored. As soon as they had performed this part of their Instructions, they were to cruise off of Gibraltar or Cape Spartel, as wind and weather permitted, till they joined the fleet ; for which purpose they were to keep in the fairway for seeing them ; but if by any unforeseen accident they should not, in that case they were to make the best of their way to Barcelona, where they should find orders.

By the opportunity of these ships, the Lord Galway desired to send some money and materials to Gibraltar, to enable them to go forward with their works, which was accordingly received on board. And his Lordship having further represented to Sir John that when he left Barcelona they were in great necessity for gunpowder, which he could supply them with from Lisbon, if he would oblige him with the conveniency of shipping for it thither, also acquainted him with his desire that the masters of the transports, who brought the invalids and sergeants of the reduced regiments to Lisbon, might be repaid the provisions they had expended in specie. It was accordingly done ; and as to the gunpowder, Sir John acquainted his Lordship [that] when he knew the quantity Barcelona

was in want of, he would order the agent of the transports to take up vessels to carry it. But some few days after, his Lordship sent to acquaint him that all the gunpowder he had been able to obtain from the Portuguese was only five hundred barrels, and that they had none at all in the stores belonging to the army : but he was informed the commissary of the ordnance stores for the navy could supply them ; which not lying under his jurisdiction, he could not take upon him to dispose of any part of it ; hoping therefore he would consider the importance of sending a speedy supply, for that undoubtedly they depended upon having it from Lisbon, not being able to receive a supply any other way. Whereupon Sir John having enquired what quantity was remaining in store and finding there was about 2000 quintals, he ordered five hundred barrels to be added to those his Lordship had provided for the garrison of Barcelona, and directed the store-keeper to provide a ship to carry it. But he not being able to do it in time, the whole was ordered to be dispersed on board the ships of war which composed the squadron.

The 6th of April Sir John appointed Mr. Thomas Jennings to transact the service relating to prisoners of war ; and three days after constituted Mr. Mihil Masterson, one of the Surgeon's mates in Her Majesty's hospital at Lisbon, giving them proper Instructions for their behaviour in their respective offices. The 10th, a court martial was held upon a seaman for desertion, and two marines for mutiny, for which they received corporal punishment. About this time likewise, the Admiral received printed orders from England to be distributed to all Her Majesty's ships, requiring their commanders

to permit neutral ships to carry tobacco from Great Britain to France.

The 15th, the Medway Prize was ordered to take the Drake sloop under her command, and convoy the trade from Lisbon to the northern ports of Portugal, and the Trade at those ports to Lisbon, and then having cleaned, to proceed to Gibraltar and join the Winchester upon that station. And the Winchester was directed thither with 5000 dollars, 70 recruits, and a ship with clothing for the garrison. And this being done, she was to cruise in the Straits' mouth till further orders. If during the cruise they discovered a squadron of the enemy's ships, or any express arrived from Great Britain the commander should think necessary to be forwarded to the Admiral, he was to send the Medway prize with it to Barcelona.

The 21st, the Earl of Galway, Mr. Methuen, and the English Consul paid Sir John a visit on board the Albemarle. The same day and the following, three Dutch men-of-war arrived; and pursuant to the resolution of the council of war the 31st of March, Instructions were given to Captain Hicks of the Warspight for convoying the Brazil fleet. He was directed to take under his command the Rupert and Triton, with one Dutch man-of-war, and to convoy the Newfoundland and West India trade one hundred leagues in their way to those parts; then to join four of the King of Portugal's ships of war at the island of Terceira looking out for the Brazil fleet, and to cruise in such a station as the Commander-in-Chief should judge convenient for meeting them, and to put in execution such orders from the said Commander, as far as he and the English and Dutch captains should judge necessary for

performing that service, taking care to avoid all disputes with the Portuguese which might obstruct the same. He was to continue on that service no longer than the 20th of June, unless he had certain advice they were suddenly expected, and then to cruise for them as many days longer as should be resolved by a joint council of war ; and in his return to Lisbon, to dispatch the *Rupert* and *Triton* before him to call at Viana, Oporto and Figueira, for the trade to join him ; but if the Brazil fleet were with him in company, he was not in that case to detach any ship from him, till the Commander-in-Chief of the Portuguese might think it convenient. On his return to Lisbon ; and being joined by the *Rupert* and *Triton* with the trade from the northern ports of Portugal, he was to remain ten days ; and, taking under his convoy the said Trade and all the Trade at Lisbon and St. Ubes ready to sail, to proceed to Great Britain and call at Plymouth, and finding there no orders to the contrary, to proceed directly to the Downs. If his Excellency Mr. Methuen desired to go to Great Britain, he was to give him and his retinue the best accommodation he could. Accompanying these orders were copies of the signals to be observed upon meeting the Brazil fleet, and a translation of the XIX and XX Articles of the treaty with Portugal, in relation to the command of auxiliary ships.

These orders were dated the 21st, but the next day the Portugal Commodore of the four ships before-mentioned, having lost company with the other three, and [being] disabled in his masts, returned to Lisbon ; and at the request of His Portuguese Majesty, Captain Hicks was directed to remain at Lisbon till that ship was in a

condition to proceed again to sea, and then to accompany her. But Sir John particularly directed him by no means to observe any orders from the Portuguese Commodore till they joined the other three; and if in their passage they should meet and engage the enemy, to leave the Portugal Commodore to act as he should think fit.

Sir John having likewise received His Royal Highness's orders of the 2nd of March, and a letter thereupon from Mr. Morrice, Paymaster-General of Her Majesty's forces in Spain and Portugal, for sending a clean ship with a sum of money to Barcelona for the use of the King of Spain, he ordered the York (as soon as she was in a condition for the sea) to receive the same, and carry it to Barcelona; but in case the money was not ready by the time the ship was, or the fleet should sail, he left the like orders for the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's ships that should arrive at Lisbon.

The 23rd, he received a letter from Colonel Elliot, Governor of Gibraltar, bearing date the 14th instant, acquainting him that a French convoy with several ships from Malaga, designed for the West Indies, had been seen for three or four days off of Gibraltar; and that the morning of the day the said letter was dated two Dutch prisoners that came by land from Malaga informed him the afore-mentioned ships consisted of five sail, one of 60 guns, one of 50 odd, one of 50, one of 46, and a privateer of 32 guns; and that he had received further intelligence that, when they had seen the Trade safe into Cadiz, they were to cruise off of the Straits' mouth; and this was confirmed by an extract of a letter from Mr. Thomas Braddyl, merchant at Gibraltar, to Captain

Carter, commander of the Drake sloop, giving an account to the same effect.

These advices being maturely considered by a council of war the same day, [summoned] with regard to the services to be performed that summer in Italy and on the coast of Spain : it was agreed to proceed according to the council of war of the 31st ultimo ; and that to strengthen the cruisers for the guarding the Straits' mouth, the Lancaster, York, and one Dutch ship should be left, when they were clean and in a condition for the sea, to be joined with the other ships appointed for that service, to cruise thereabouts, as they should find most proper for annoying the enemy and protecting the Trade (it not being thought proper to make any further detachment at that time) ; and that the three afore-mentioned ships should be ordered to cruise on their station till the 20th of June, and then to repair and join the fleet at Barcelona, or such other place as should be appointed the rendez-vous.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Admiral issued his orders to the York and Lancaster and one Dutch man-of-war to cruise off of the Straits' mouth to the time limited, and then to join the fleet, unless they should have certain intelligence [that] a squadron of the enemy was passed up the Straits, or any other advice necessary to be communicated to the Admiral, and in that case to send a ship to him, or come with all the three, as should be judged most for the service by a council of war. Sir John likewise empowered Captain Moodie, the commandant of these ships, to break open any orders or express from the Admiralty office, or the Secretary of State ; and if he found anything that the service required to be forwarded to him, to dispatch a ship to

Barcelona. Upon this occasion he likewise thought proper to make some alterations with regard to the Winchester and Medway Prize, who were now directed to put the money and recruits for Gibraltar on board the *Defiance*; to convoy the trade from Lisbon to Oporto and the northern ports of Portugal, and from those ports to Lisbon; and then [to] put in execution their former orders to cruise in the Straits' mouth and, joining Captain Moodie in the *Lancaster*, to follow his orders as long as he should continue upon that station. And the *Defiance*, having landed the recruits and money at Gibraltar, was to join the fleet upon their appearance off of that place.

The procuring transport ships, and putting them (as well as those they had) in a condition for the sea, and to receive the Horse, took up more time than Sir John expected, and would have detained him some time longer. But having now got together as many as were capable to carry 1500 horse, and received advice that the Dutch minister at Turin had procured some at Genoa, he judged they would be sufficient for the transportation, and the 27th he sailed from Lisbon, with 102 sail of all sorts; his squadron consisting of 28 sail of the line, viz., 16 English and 12 Dutch, besides frigates, fireships and bombs. In case of separation, the place of rendez-vous was Barcelona, and if Sir John was not there, then Vado in Italy. And orders were left at Lisbon for the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's ships, which might arrive there from Great Britain to join him, to follow to the rendez-vous.

Soon after they sailed, the *Colchester*, giving chase, sprung her foremast, and two transports springing very dangerous leaks were sent back

to Lisbon. The 4th of May the fleet got the length of Gibraltar, and the *Defiance* made sail ahead, in order to put on shore at that place the money and recruits she had on board, and with a letter from the Admiral to the Governor to know his wants. Soon after the Admiral coming open¹ with the garrison was saluted with twenty-one guns, which he returned. Here he expected to have been joined by the *Burford* and *Nassau*, which ships he had sent before from Lisbon to land the Emperor of Morocco's Ambassador at Gibraltar, &c., and then to cruise off of the Straits' mouth till he arrived. But some days before he got thither, they met and engaged off of Cape Spartel the *Happy Return*, a ship taken by the enemy the last war, which was convoy to some merchantmen bound from Marseilles to West France. They took the man-of-war, but the merchantmen by the favour of the night made their escape. But the *Burford* and *Nassau* were so disabled, the former by springing her bowsprit in boarding the Frenchman, and the latter in her rigging, that the Admiral was obliged to leave them behind to repair their damages, with orders to join him at Barcelona. Whilst they were in that station, they likewise forced ashore a privateer of 24 guns, which the enemy burnt; they also took a letter of marque² man of 30 guns.

The next morning Sir John passed the Straits' mouth, and detached the *Defiance*, *Northumberland* and *Dunkirk*, with orders to call at Alicante and, after the delivery of some money, &c., which was on board the *Dunkirk* for the use of that garrison, to make the best of their

¹ *Sic.*

² 'Mart,' author's spelling.

way to Barcelona, to acquaint His Majesty the King of Spain of his approach. To the captain of the *Defiance*, commandant, he likewise gave Instructions, upon his arrival at Barcelona, to send an express to Mr. Mead the paymaster of the forces, who, he had been informed by the Lord Galway was at Tarragona, to acquaint him there was money on board the fleet for His Majesty and the service of the army in Catalonia, desiring him without delay to repair to Barcelona to receive it; and also to acquaint His Catholic Majesty that Sir John was only to touch at Barcelona to receive his commands, and from thence proceed to Vado in Italy. He was likewise to wait upon the Viceroy and acquaint him that the Admiral would salute the garrison with twenty-one guns as soon as he came to anchor, if he might be assured of being answered with the like number, of which he desired to have timely notice on his appearance off of that place.

These three ships in their passage were joined by the *Sorlings*, and having had the good fortune to meet with and take a ship of the enemy's of 24 guns, they learnt that a French convoy was not far off, consisting of three men-of-war of 44, 40, and 32 guns, with ninety settees and tartans, laden with wheat, barley, oats, flour, and some ammunition, bound for Peñíscola, for the use of the army under the Duke of Orleans, to enable them to carry on the siege of Tortosa.

Upon this intelligence they made the necessary dispositions for intercepting this convoy, and the next day, as soon as they appeared in sight, the British ships bore down upon the men-of-war which convoyed them. Whereupon they abandoned their barks, endeavouring themselves

to make their escape, being closely pursued. This was the 11th of May, when the fleet with Sir John Leake being on their way to Barcelona, [was now] about fourteen leagues from that place. About two in the afternoon the Admiral discovered seven sail to the N.E. standing to the southward upon a wind, the wind being then at S.S.W.; their topsails just appearing above the horizon, (which were the four ships before-mentioned in chase of the three French).

As soon as they were discovered, the Essex, which was ordered to keep ahead of the fleet, and a Dutch man-of-war, gave chase. At the same time they saw a number of small vessels which were supposed to be fishing boats. But soon after, Sir John observing that one of the seven sail fired several guns, and the small vessels thereupon made in to the shore, he concluded they were enemies, immediately detached the Cambridge with the tenders after them, and made the signal for the fleet to chase.

It proved little wind and calm the remaining part of the day, and all that night, that he could not come up with any of them. However, he ordered the Rear-Admiral to continue the chase as well as he could all night, being yet at a loss to know certainly what they were. But the next morning a tartan being taken, he was informed they were a French convoy for Peñíscola. Whereupon he detached the Elizabeth, Restoration, and Stirling Castle off of that place, to endeavour to intercept them or prevent their getting in there, with orders to join him afterwards at Barcelona; and the boats and tenders with some frigates, he directed to continue the chase in shore after the smaller vessels. In short, there was taken that morning and the evening before, no less than 75,

and of those that escaped our boats, several were taken by the Spaniards, so that eight only got into Peñíscola. But the three French men-of-war, their convoy, had better luck. For though they were so closely pursued, that the *Defiance* and *Dunkirk* got within half-gun-shot of them, they escaped by the assistance of their oars in the calm and under favour of the night, and two of them got into Toulon ; but the third was afterwards taken by an English frigate.

By the prisoners they learnt that, though the French had certain advice of the coming of the Confederate fleet into the Mediterranean, and the commander of the convoy represented the manifest danger they must be exposed to of being intercepted ; yet the necessity of their army was so great, they were obliged to attempt it.

By this success upon the enemy's corn fleet, Barcelona once more received an unexpected deliverance. For as that city had formerly been relieved by Sir John Leake in the critical minute from absolute destruction, so the same good fortune attended him now, to preserve them from the rage of famine which threatened them. The distress not only Barcelona, but the army of the allies were under for want of corn, is lively expressed in His Majesty's letter to Sir John of the 5th of February before-mentioned ; and what advantages this fortunate accident afforded the public affairs in Spain, King Charles's court and our officers in Catalonia were very sensible of. They found themselves relieved in the manner which alone could answer their present necessities ; for by the King's letter before-mentioned it is doubtful whether the fleet could have proceeded for Italy till they had transported corn to Barcelona, which would have taken up a considerable time,

and have given the enemy great advantage. Whereas the transportation of the troops was by this means furthered, the King of Spain and the army had their wants supplied, and at the cost of the enemy, whose disappointment was adequate to¹ the necessity they were under, being hereby discouraged, distressed, and reduced to the very circumstance they had brought the allies to, who now were encouraged to keep the field, and the Catalans in general more engaged to the Austrian interest.

This piece of success, besides the immediate relief it brought to Catalonia, put the enemy under great apprehensions from² the arrival of the confederate fleet under the command of an Admiral, whose bravery and good fortune was so renowned in the Mediterranean. For by a master of a ship who was prisoner at Toulon, they were informed that, as soon as the two men-of-war of the convoy came in there, bringing an account of the loss of the corn fleet and their own narrow escape, the inhabitants were under the greatest consternation, dreading another bombardment. Their fears continually suggesting Sir John was coming thither, they diligently applied themselves to make fortifications upon the hill, where the Duke of Savoy had his battery. [The same informer said] that there were 15 sail of three-decked ships, and about 20, from 30 to 50 guns, all unmasted, and ready to be sunk in case of necessity; and that they had reinforced the garrison, and put two battalions on the Isles Hyères, by reason of Sir John's being so near with the fleet. It was therefore upon all accounts a very lucky incident at the

¹ Commensurate with.

² On account of.

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beginning of a campaign, and a good earnest of what might follow.

As soon as King Charles received this welcome news, he dispatched a felucca with the following letter to Sir John, to congratulate his arrival and good success.

THE KING

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—Understanding you are so near with the Grand Fleet, and that your design is to stay here but a short time, and also that you have destroyed the convoy which the enemy sent to the borders of Tortosa, that they might with the subsistence aboard besiege that place; finding myself in some perplexity about what is done, I have thought good to send this felucca, to manifest to you the great pleasure I have in the news of your arrival, as well for the singular consequences it brings to the good and benefit of the common cause, as that I can by word of mouth express to you the esteem I have for your person; and to insinuate to you how agreeable it will be to my royal desire to receive from yourself the particulars of this success in destroying the enemy's aforesaid convoy. For besides the great circumstances included towards my interest, it will be no small advantage to the troops in this army, that with this convoy their want of grain may be supplied in some measure on a strict occasion. I am persuaded, from your known zeal, that nothing will be wanting on your part. In the interim, as the wind will permit the arrival of the fleet, it will be much to my service that you come as soon as possible to the court, that I may confer with you and Count Staremberg, who is come from the camp, what may be most beneficial for my service and the good and benefit of the common cause.

I THE KING.

BARCELONA, *May 25,*¹ 1708.

The 15th, Sir John came to an anchor with the fleet before Barcelona, and saluted the

¹ N.S.

town with twenty-one guns, having previous thereto had the promise of the Viceroy to return the like number, which was accordingly performed. Here he found the *Defiance*, Northumberland, *Dunkirk*, *Sorlings* and *Falcon* pink; the latter (a frigate of 32 guns and 150 men), a little before her arrival, having taken and brought in that harbour, a French frigate of 22 guns and 164 men, which made the dispute very sharp; the commander of the *Falcon* (Captain Delavall) and 40 of the crew being killed in the action. The prize having lost her fore and mainmast, and being otherwise very much damaged and out of repair, Sir John sent her to Genoa to be disposed of.

As the necessity of Barcelona for corn at that time was very pressing, His Majesty desired that what had been taken from the enemy might be disposed in his magazines, they being very ill provided. Which Sir John consented to. And the day after his arrival, attended by the rest of the Admirals, he went on shore to wait upon the King, who having notice of it, had appointed proper officers with coaches to receive them at the water side. In this manner they were conducted to the palace, attended by crowds of people, expressing their sentiments of gratitude, by cries of '*Viva la Reyna Aña!*' When they arrived at the court, they were received by a battalion of the foot-guards drawn out upon that occasion, and were introduced to His Majesty's presence by the Prince de Lichtenstein, the Conde de Oropesca, a grandee of the first rank, the Counts Galves, Kolonitz, and Zinzendorf; where was found a magnificent appearance of foreign ministers and nobility. His Majesty received Sir John with particular marks of esteem

and affection, and the whole court expressed the utmost regard for his person and merits, and particularly with regard to the benefit they had received by his success upon the French corn fleet, and not seeming any ways apprehensive of danger from the enemy, now he was arrived.

CHAPTER III¹

He concert's with His Catholic Majesty the further operations of the fleet. Sails from Barcelona. Arrives at Vado in Italy; embarks the troops; receives the Queen of Spain on board and convoys them to Barcelona.

As soon as His Catholic Majesty was informed of the arrival of the fleet upon the coast of Catalonia, he sent an express to Count Staremburg at the camp before Tarragona to come with all speed to confer with the Admiral, whom he had desired to come ashore for that purpose. Accordingly the Count left the army immediately and came to Barcelona before the fleet; and that no time might be lost, the same day that Sir John was introduced to the King a consultation was held about the affairs of the present conjuncture, which His Majesty afterwards proposed in the following letter to him, that the same might be laid before a council of war.

THE KING

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—Being desirous that no time be lost in which the fleet may expedite those operations which are most beneficial to the common cause, and not doubting your zeal in a point of so essential importance,

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 16th May to July 19th, 1708.

you will be desirous ¹ to enter upon those actions which may be advantageous and practicable ; I put you in mind that the safeguard of these coasts is not of the least consequence, ² not only in order to hinder the enemy from conveying by sea the necessaries for their two armies, on the side of Tortosa, and of that of Lampurdanz, ³ but also to the end that my Royal person may be more secure, by obviating any contingencies to which it may be exposed, if the enemy should have a free passage by sea.

I think it of importance that seven or eight frigates and bomb-ketches should remain before this capital and at my disposition, that they may be ready for any affair that may offer ; and that the rest of the fleet going for Italy should with all possible speed transport the troops which are to come from thence hither. For I consider that very favourable consequences may attend these two points when effected, which if not, may prove most prejudicial ; for the enemy being superior in number to those troops which defend this principality (as it's manifest by its being in some manner oppressed for want of an army to make head with), the enemy will straiten us yet more, if those succours which are ready in Italy should be retarded, and would put in doubt those successes which we may expect from their speedy arrival. That of the Queen ⁴ is no less essential to this principality ; which if delayed any longer, those malicious impressions which the enemy endeavour to infuse into my subjects, and have already reported, that I intended to leave this country and go for Italy. ⁵ And if they should see any

¹ Sc. And not doubting that your zeal in a point of so essential importance will make you desirous, &c.

² Sc. That nothing can be of greater consequence than the safeguarding of these coasts, &c.

³ The French armies engaged against Tortosa and in the Ampurdan.

⁴ The arrival at Barcelona of the Queen.

⁵ This sentence does not hold together. Read, 'And if my Queen's arrival here is much longer delayed, the enemy will endeavour to infuse into my subjects the malicious rumour which they have already set afoot, viz., that I intend to leave my adopted country, &c. &c.'

delay of the Queen's embarking in those parts, they would without doubt lay hold of this conjuncture to renew and spread the malicious report. For which reason I am confident you will procure that at the same time, and in this same voyage (if possible), the troops which are ready to be embarked, as well cavalry as foot, and the Queen (in case she be ready to undertake the voyage) may come together; which if she be not in a few days, it will be most reasonable that the transportation of the succours, which are so much wanted, should on no account be delayed.

And whereas it is most requisite, as well for the subsistence of these, as those which compose the armies in Catalonia, that some place should be thought of, from whence there may be brought a sufficient quantity of corn, seeing it is impossible that what may be in this principality can in any manner be proportionable to the present want, although ¹ it were not exhausted by what it has already supplied, and some part of it being possessed by the enemy: as likewise, that the plentiful harvest, which is this year expected, has been shortened by being obliged to make use of great part thereof for forage, I think ² it very convenient you should take into your consideration the expedition of Sardinia, in the conquest of which the security of provisions for the troops will consist; believing it may be effected by ³ the reiterated advices from thence that that kingdom is disposed to comply with their obligation, in rendering their obedience to me, as soon as they can have assistance with which to free themselves from the yoke of France. Seeing

¹ Even if.

² In this most involved sentence King Charles means to say, 'We must look out for another granary: for even if we had the whole of Catalonia behind us, its cornfields would not now suffice for our needs. And of course we cannot count on the whole of Catalonia; for the enemy occupy part of it, and our own friends have made free with the standing crops, cutting them down for their cattle. I therefore am of opinion, &c.'

³ On account of.

therefore the natives so well disposed, 'tis not to be doubted but that with a small number of troops, that will be effected which they so much desire, and will be of the greatest importance for the subsisting the troops.

I conjecture it may be easy for the fleet in its passage to Italy, and without losing the opportunity of a fair wind, to shew itself on the coast of France, which very naturally might occasion confusion and jealousies, from which a dismembering of their troops in Lampurdanz may arise. It is a fertile country, and might subsist very well the troops that defend it ; by which means they may be able to gain some passes which they may maintain, and oblige the enemy to abandon a great part of that country.

The expedition of Sicily may consequently be effected with an indifferent number of troops, Count Daun having with him sufficient for that enterprise, if he had but some ships to second him. Good consequences may be the result of it ; for which reason it would be proper to send some ships for that expedition ; when, though it may not take effect, yet the consequence would be (1) driving from Faro¹ and the adjacent parts the embarkations which the enemy have there ; (2) hindering the passage of provisions for the supply of Naples, and the troops which keep it ; (3) the entire liberty of the garrison of Tuscany, which only wants a little excitation to rid themselves of those molestations which the neighbourhood of the enemy occasions. This is worthy of reflections ; for this impediment once removed, the peace of Italy is secured, and there will be no fear or jealousy left behind us, that may put a stop to a vigorous operation in the enemy's country. And if to this intent your vigilance could direct some ships, it might be attempted ; as likewise that you leave two small frigates for ready and speedy advice from hence to Italy ; for although there are some pinks and feluccas designed for this purpose, hitherto they have not come with that speed the public affairs require.

¹ On the strait of Messina.

The foregoing circumstances being what seem to include what is most essential for the public good, I hope you will seriously reflect upon what I write, and that you will advise me your opinion of it, and that of the fleet ; not doubting but that you'll be unanimous to prosecute what you may think most advantageous ; which corresponds with that entire love and that activity, with which you have always procured to carry on the justice of my cause, and with it the convenience and universal quiet of Europe.

I THE KING.

FROM BARCELONA, *May 28, 1708, N.S.*

Upon this letter, Sir John held a council of war on board the Albemarle in the Bay of Barcelona, the 18th of May, and they came to this unanimous resolution : that, pursuant to His Majesty's desire in the said letter, seven ships, five of them English and two Dutch, should be left to cruise upon the coast of Catalonia, till the return of the fleet from Italy, to put in execution all such commands of His Majesty the King of Spain, for the security of that coast, as should be judged practicable by a council of war of all the commanders of the said ships ; and that they should proceed with the rest of the fleet the next morning (if the wind presented) to Vado in Italy, [thence] to transport the horse and foot to Barcelona, and likewise to bring Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, if she was ready to embark on board the fleet ; and after the troops were landed, that they should proceed on such further services as should be judged practicable (by a council of war) for the fleet to undertake. And it was further resolved that the Poole (when she arrived there) should be ordered to follow the fleet with such letters as His Majesty should please to send to Italy by her ; and that two ships were to be

detached before the fleet to Genoa to give notice of their coming to take in the troops, when they got the length of Toulon.

According to these resolutions, Sir John appointed Captain Evans commodore in the *Burford*, with the *Cambridge*, *Nassau*, *Colchester*, *Sorlings*, *Gouda* and *Zealand* (and any other ships that might afterwards arrive at Barcelona in order to join the fleet) to cruise upon the coast of Catalonia, especially off of Peñíscola and the coast of Valencia, to intercept any convoys of the enemy; and Captain Stanhope with the *Milford* and *Poole*, to bring after him to Italy the King of Spain's letters. He likewise left orders at Barcelona, directed to the commanders of all ships that were ordered to join the fleet to put themselves under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's ships appointed to cruise on the coast of Catalonia.

The noblemen, to whom the King of Spain committed the care of his bride, were the young Prince of Lichtenstein, the Count Oropesca, the Counts Galves and Kolonitz. With these Sir John departed from Barcelona the 19th, his squadron then consisting of twenty-two sail of the line, two frigates, two fireships, three bombs, two hospitals, and the *Isabella* yacht, and with the convoy of transports, &c., making about 89 sail of all sorts. In this passage, on the 22nd instant, he dispatched the *Defiance* and *Dunkirk* to make the best of their way before him to Genoa, with his letters to Mr. Crow, the British Consul at that place, and Mr. Chetwynd, Her Majesty's Envoy at the court of Turin. And in the same ships he sent the agent for transportation, that he might prepare everything relating to his duty against his arrival; and

directed the Dunkirk to bring from thence the Dutch transports to join him at Vado. His letter to Mr. Crow was chiefly in relation to victualling the fleet with fresh provisions, whilst they continued in Italy, as a necessary refreshment, and what would very much contribute to keep them in health; desiring him for that purpose to procure cattle to be brought to Vado, and likewise a fortnight's bread, and calavances,¹ for 6350 men. His letter which he sent at the same time to the English Envoy was only to acquaint him of his coming, to make his compliments to the Duke of Savoy, and to desire if he had any intelligence of the enemy at Toulon, he would communicate it to him.

In his passage he received a letter from the Conde de Savillac, Viceroy of Majorca, congratulating his arrival in those seas, and proposing an expedition against Minorca; to which he could only answer at that time that, as it was the utmost of his ambition to be capable of serving the King of Spain, so nothing would be more agreeable to him than to have it in his power to put a project in execution that would contribute so particularly to his Excellency's satisfaction, as that of the reduction of Port Mahon; and he assured his Excellency that no design should be proposed to him, which could be thought for the interest of his Majesty, which he would not promote with all imaginable diligence, as far as he should be capable with the fleet he had the honour to command.

The 23rd, they had hard gales of wind at N.N.W., N.W., and W.N.W. About eight at night the Blast bomb made the signal of distress.

¹ Beans, peas, or other legumina.

Whereupon the Admiral brought to and tried¹ under a mainsail till next morning ; and then not seeing her, he made sail under apprehensions she was lost, the hard gales of wind continuing all the next day. The 24th at night, the Admiral lay by again, to give the sternmost ships an opportunity of coming up with him, several of the transports having received damage, and some made the signal of distress. The next morning he lay by again, and had the satisfaction to be joined by the Blast bomb, but much damaged. For having taken in a great deal of water, she was forced to put afore the wind, and was in great danger of foundering. The two following days they continued to ply to windward with moderate gales and fair weather ; and the 29th, at five in the morning, Sir John anchored with the fleet at Vado, in the territories of the republic of Genoa, three miles from Savona ; the Castle of Savona saluting him upon his appearance off of that place with eleven guns, and a second salute as soon as he anchored in the bay, which he returned with a like number. As soon as he arrived, the following letter was brought him from Mr. Chetwynd, Her Majesty's Envoy at the Court of Turin.

TURIN, *June 7, 1708*, N.S.

SIR,—I received this morning the honour of your letter of the 22nd past, O.S., and it was a great satisfaction to me to hear that you were well, and were so near to us, for I have expected you in these seas for above these six weeks. I received, at the same time with the honour of your letter, an account that you did appear

¹ To *try* = to lie to in a gale of wind under easy sail, or under just enough to keep the ship's weather bow to the sea.

off of Finalmarina, so I make no doubt but this will find you anchored at Vado.

That no time may be lost in dispatching the service in hand, I must desire that you will let me know by the return of this courier for what number of men and horse you are provided to transport, with the number each ship can carry, that I may inform the Generals of it, and concert with them the march to the sea side, as well as what else may be necessary to facilitate this embarkation. The troops the Queen is to provide everything for, as I suppose you are informed, are near 2000 horse and 4000 foot, which, with the officers, servants, and their equipages will go considerably higher. According to the orders which I had from England, I have provided the necessary subsistence both for man and horse, for the time they may be supposed to stay on board, of which you will be left the judge. But as for the transports, I have not provided any, Lord Sunderland having wrote me word that you would bring what were sufficient. For the part which the States General are to provide, it is already done, and the transports are already at Genoa.

There being so many different things to settle in this embarkation that I am afraid they cannot be done at this distance, so I do propose,¹ if you approve of it, to send for the Generals and come with them to wait on you at Vado, where we may be better able to fix upon the most proper measures. And I shall keep myself ready to leave this place upon your orders. If not so, you must send some person or other hither, who may be well informed of your intentions, that I may regulate everything with him. As the Generals have orders to concert all matters with me, and follow the directions I shall give them, I can send for them, or desire them to meet you as you shall judge best, and your answer shall determine me ; so that I will not trouble you any further in this affair till I have the honour to hear from you again.

I must take notice to you that besides the troops, the

¹ I do therefore propose.

Queen of Spain and her retinue have vast equipages with them, which they do expect will be transported, and her ministers have addressed themselves to me about them; but my answer hitherto has been, that I could do nothing till your arrival; so I desire you will be pleased to let me know what answer to give these ministers.

I have made your compliments to the Duke of Savoy, who is very well pleased to hear of your arrival in these parts, and much obliged to you for the offers of your service. He has also ordered me to assure you, if there be anything for the Queen's or your service in his state, you may be sure of his readiness to comply with your demands.

I have had nothing new from Toulon of late, but I have given such orders that if there were anything I should have been informed of it; and as anything may occur during your stay in those parts, I shall not fail to impart it to you.¹

I must beg leave to felicitate you at the good success you had in destroying and taking the enemy's convoy of provisions. I do take it to be of so great a consequence to our affairs in Spain, that nothing can be more; and I question now, if the Duke of Orleans can pretend to act offensively, or even keep his footing in Catalonia. I am glad of this occasion to begin my acquaintance with you, and to offer you my services in these parts, as being with great truth, &c.,

J. CHETWYND.

To this letter Sir John immediately returned the following answer.

ALBEMARLE, IN THE BAY OF VADO, May 29, 1708.

SIR,—This morning at seven o'clock I was honoured with your letter of the 7th of June, N.S., and take leave to acquaint you in answer that the transports I brought

¹ Sc. I shall not fail to impart to you during your stay in those parts anything of note as it occurs.

with me are of several burthens, which I have computed will be sufficient to carry 1560 horses, more than which I could not procure, unless I had stayed a fortnight longer for the unloading of some merchant ships. The 4000 foot I propose to take on board the men-of-war. And as to the Queen's equipage, her coaches may be disposed of in the transports ; and if there be any embarkations to be hired at Genoa, I have ordered the agent belonging to the transport-office to take up as many as he can possibly procure ; and I hope I shall be in a condition to accommodate this matter without making a second trip. I do intend to send Sir Thomas Hardy, my First Captain, to wait upon the Queen at Milan, to settle the affairs about Her Majesty's embarkation ; and believe (if the trouble were not too great) that it will be necessary that yourself or some of the General Officers should come to me, to settle the embarkation of the horse and foot, as judging it cannot be effectually regulated by any person that I can send to wait on you at Turin.

I am, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

P.S. The King of Spain has desired, if we have not sufficient embarkations for all the serviceable horse, that his own may be left behind.

The same day orders were sent to Mr. Wardlaw, the Agent for Transportation, to hire ships at Genoa to carry about 600 horses more, and to send them with the ships the Dutch had then ready at that place to carry their quota (which was 500) together with some corn and hay, which had been brought up there. The Northumberland was likewise dispatched soon after to Genoa, to hasten away the transports with corn and hay, for the use of the horse, and bring them to Vado ; and the Falcon was sent to Leghorn to clean and refit.

Soon after his arrival at Vado, Sir John dis-

patched Sir Thomas Hardy, Kt., his First Captain, to Milan, to wait on Her Majesty the Queen of Spain, to know her pleasure about the embarkation of her person and court, whilst he¹ was preparing for that of the troops. But finding that above a third part of the hay and corn for the horses was at Leghorn, and it was very uncertain whether a sufficient number of vessels could be taken up at that place to bring it to him, he sent ten transports under convoy of four men-of-war to that place to bring it from thence. Whereas had any advice thereof met him at Barcelona, he could have sent some transports before him to have brought it to Vado ; which, as the winds happened in his passage, might have got thither some days before he arrived there. So that though he came completely ready to embark the troops, he was now necessitated to remain at least three weeks or a month longer. These ships with the transports for Leghorn, sailed from Vado the first of June. The next day Sir John received the following instructions from Her Majesty.

A. R.

Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Leake, Kt., Admiral of the White Squadron of our Fleet, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of our Fleet in the Mediterranean, &c. Given at our court at Kensington, the 4th day of May, 1708, in the 7th year of our reign.

Whereas we are certainly informed that the Pope has not only promoted and encouraged the late intended invasion of our dominions,

¹ Himself.

by the pretended Prince of Wales, assisted by the French, but has also advanced a very considerable sum of money for that end, and has in the most public and insolent manner ordered prayers in the Churches of Rome for the success of this expedition, which is an affront of the highest nature to our person, crown and dignity, to the British nation, and to all our allies: we therefore think it highly just and reasonable that not only a reparation be made to us for so high an affront, but also the expenses to which this expedition has put us and our people be in some measure repaid us.

You are therefore, when you shall be arrived with our fleet in the Mediterranean, in case it be found consistent with the other services for which you are sent thither, to repair in person with the whole fleet under your command, or to order such a number of ships as in a council of war shall be judged sufficient, to repair to the coast of Italy. And at Civita Vecchia, or such other port belonging to the Pope as shall be judged most proper, yourself in person, or the Commander-in-Chief of such detachment of our fleet, are to demand of the Pope the sum of 400,000 crowns, giving the reasons afore-mentioned for so doing, and acquainting him that if this demand be not instantly complied with, his country is to be put under military execution; which, in case of a refusal or delay, is to be performed, by burning and destroying his ports and shipping, and by any other means that shall be judged most proper.

A. R.

These Instructions were accompanied by the following letter from the Secretary of State:—

WHITEHALL, *May 7, 1708.*

SIR,—I send you enclosed an instruction to demand satisfaction of the Pope for the assistance he has given in a most public and insolent manner to the late invasion. The Queen could do no less to assert her own honour and dignity and that of the nation; and I don't doubt but, as far as is consistent with the main services you are sent upon, you will execute it in such a manner as will strike a terror into the Italian princes for the future. I hope by this time you are far advanced in your way to Barcelona, where you are very much wanted. I expect impatiently our next letters from Lisbon, in hopes they will tell us of your being sailed some time from thence.

I am, with great truth, Sir,

Your most, &c.,

SUNDERLAND.

Upon this occasion, a council of war was held the next day, June 3; wherein having considered these Instructions, together with the expedition they were then upon, and the several detachments that had already been made from the fleet, they found themselves unable to make any further detachments from the fleet, which was but sufficient to make a transportation of the troops, all the men-of-war being [needed] to carry a proportion of the infantry; and therefore it was resolved, that after the troops were landed at Catalonia, to take a further resolution in putting Her Majesty's said instructions relating to the Pope in execution, with regard to the general orders and Instructions to be performed by the fleet that campaign; and Sir John immediately returned an answer to the Lord Sunderland thereupon, viz.

ALBEMARLE, IN THE BAY OF VADO, *June 3, 1708.*

MY LORD,—Yesterday I was honoured with your Lordship's letter of the 7th ultimo, and Her Majesty's

Instructions, commanding me to demand satisfaction of the Pope, which I have communicated to the Flag Officers and some of the senior captains at a council of war, and herewith send your Lordship the result. Vice-Admiral Wassenaer has sent an express to the States General for their orders in this affair ; but if he has not an answer, and an order does not come to him before the troops are landed in Catalonia, we may probably have his company, but cannot expect his joining with us in our endeavours to oblige the Pope to comply with Her Majesty's demands.

I arrived with the fleet at this place on the 29th ultimo, where I am doubtful I shall be detained three weeks or a month longer. For though I came hither completely ready to embark the troops, finding that above a third part of the hay and corn for the horses was at Leghorn, I was obliged to send ten transports under convoy of four men-of-war for it. If I am capable of serving your Lordship in these parts, your Lordship will do me a very great honour in presenting me with an occasion of shewing, that I am, with the greatest respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland,
one of the principal Secretaries of State to Her
Majesty of Great Britain.

The same day Sir John received the following letter from Prince de Lichtenstein.

BARCELONA, *June 11, 1708, N.S.*

SIR,—His Catholic Majesty has with an entire satisfaction understood by a courier, who arrived here from Italy yesterday, that the 6th of this month you appeared with the fleet off of Finalmarina, having obtained both a happy and speedy passage. He was at the same time informed that Her Majesty arrived at Milan the 31st of May, and that she will speedily repair to the sea-side in order to embark ; so that he promises him-

self that all the dispositions will be ready to embark her, as likewise the troops as soon as possible, according as he has ordered me to recommend it to you by the present. He has likewise directed me to entreat you instantly to send the packet of letters, which the frigate by which this comes brings you, to his Governor of Finalmarina, who has the necessary orders to direct it to the place where it is to go. I am very glad, in the interim, to have the occasion to assure you of my respect, and to testify that

I am, &c.,
THE PRINCE DE LICHTENSTEIN.

The 7th the Defiance was ordered to carry some money from Genoa to Barcelona for the use of the King of Spain. And it having been represented to the Admiral that there would be frequent occasions to send money thither, he left general orders to all ships that should arrive there to proceed from time to time with such sums of money for His Majesty's service. Two days after, Sir Thomas Hardy returned from Milan, bringing an account that Her Majesty would be ready in ten or twelve days to come to Genoa ; but that she would not go into that city, which did not acknowledge her for Queen of Spain, but would embark without the town near the Lantern.

In the meantime the Agent for Transportation, which the Admiral had appointed at Genoa to hire transports, notwithstanding his utmost diligence, could not procure them. For the people of that Republic, taking advantage of the urgent necessity they found the fleet was under of having them, would not let their ships but at very extravagant prices ; so that the Agent acquainted Sir John that, unless he would interpose and make an absolute demand, he saw no likelihood of procuring them. Where-

upon he thought fit to send to the Doge and Senators of Genoa the following letter.

ALBEMARLE IN VADO BAY, *June 9, 1708, O.S.*

MOST SERENE DOGE AND MOST EXCELLENT SENATORS, —I cannot do otherwise in duty to my royal mistress than represent to your Serenity and Excellencies that having occasion for some vessels for the transportation of the forces, which are to be embarked here for the service of His Most Catholic Majesty, I have employed an officer to take up as many as was thought necessary at your city of Genoa for the aforesaid service ; but upon his application, am informed that many of your Serenity's and Excellencies' subjects have very unkindly refused to let their vessels, though otherwise unemployed ; and that others have consented to treat, but demand double the freight that has been usually paid : furthermore, having had occasion for, and therefore hired, several embarkations to bring hay, &c., to the fleet, in order to its being distributed amongst the transport ships, their masters have afterwards refused to serve according to their contracts. I am the more concerned thereat, as considering the kindness my Royal mistress has for your republic, and that your subjects have always carried on their navigation and commerce without the least interruption from the officers that have the honour of commanding in Her Majesty's Royal Navy. But I doubt not but that your Serenity and Excellencies will give such direction herein, as that I may neither want vessels on this important occasion, nor be imposed upon in the payment for freight.

I am,

Most Serene Doge, and Excellent Senators,
Your Serenity's and Excellencies'
Most humble servant,

J. LEAKE.

To the most Serene Doge, and most
Excellent Senators of the Republic of Genoa.

This letter very much alarmed the state, which justly apprehended the utmost danger

from the resentments of the British fleet, at that time absolute masters of the Mediterranean; and had it been thought advisable, [it] could soon have obliged them to acknowledge King Charles for King of Spain. They were conscious too, no doubt, as Sir John observed to them, how freely they had been permitted to carry on their commerce, upon which they wholly depended. For these reasons there was no room to doubt but his letter would have a proper influence, which indeed it had; for as soon as it was received, a council was held, and orders were instantly given to conform in every respect with the Admiral's demands, and an answer was presently dispatched to him at Vado by express as follows:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY ADMIRAL LEAKE.

SIR,—Pursuant to the particular attention which our Republic has always had for the real service of Her Majesty of Great Britain, and conformable to the pressing instances which your Excellency has made at present; we have given orders to the officers of our bench not to permit the least failure in the observance of the contracts already agreed upon, in regard to what this fleet shall have occasion for, nor suffer the least alteration in the prices more than what is reasonable and customary; having it very much at heart that the commanders and others of Her Majesty's officers, and in particular your Excellency, for whom we have so great an esteem, do continue to find all manner of conveniency in these ports, and receive the greatest facility from our people, as you may see by the effects upon every occasion. So much we do assure your Excellency of in desiring you will always approve of our obedience to so great a Queen, and we wish you all happiness. Genoa, June 23, 1708, N.S.

Your Excellency's servants,

The Doge and Governors of the Republic of Genoa,

GU. GRANAZA, Secretary of State,

CESTANTINO PINELLI.

After this the transports were provided at Genoa with much facility, and those that had agreed readily performed their contracts, and all imaginable diligence was used to get them ready. The 18th of June, Sir John received a letter from M. Amede from Turin, desiring he would send some person of trust to confer with in relation to the embarkation of the Queen and forces. Whereupon he dispatched Sir John Norris thither, with directions to concert the necessary preliminaries. Which having done, he returned the 25th. About the same time Sir John received several letters, which, with some other occurrences, shall be considered whilst the preparations for the embarkation, of the troops are carrying on at Vado, Genoa, and Leghorn.

The first was a letter from Count Daun, Viceroy of Naples, to know if he had any orders relating to that kingdom and Sicily; to which he returned an answer, the 12th of June, that he had not received any orders from Her Majesty, relating particularly to those two kingdoms; but as His Catholic Majesty was pleased in his letter to him of the 28th ultimo to recommend the reduction of Sicily and Sardinia, he [had] held a council of war, whereat it was determined, after the transportation of the troops from Genoa, to undertake the other services proposed: that he begged leave to assure his Excellency, he had so particular a regard for the service of His Catholic Majesty, that it was with concern he was obliged to acquaint him that the many detachments, which had been made from the fleet, rendered it impracticable for him to undertake anything till the troops were embarked and landed, there being several ships cruising in the Straits' mouth, for the protection of our

commerce and annoyance of the enemy, some on the coast of Catalonia, some at Leghorn, and others at Genoa ; insomuch, that he was jealous¹ the service he was immediately upon, and which was of so great importance, could not, without great difficulty, be performed.

His Catholic Majesty's letter to Admiral Leake :

SIR,—I am informed of your happy arrival in Italy, and the same time of that of the Queen my spouse at Milan. I hope you have found all the dispositions ready, as well for embarking of her as the succours which you are to bring to Spain. I promise myself from your great zeal that you'll use all possible diligence to procure me with speed the joy which I shall have at the arrival of the one and the other. The enemy having besieged my town of Tortosa since the 10th instant, you may judge of the great necessity of hastening the transportation of the troops and of my Queen, by the bad consequence that may attend the loss of this place, if we should be so unfortunate as not to relieve it. As I owe the obligation of the deliverance of this capital to the diligence which you used to come to my relief in the year 1706, I hope you'll do the same for the preservation of the said town of Tortosa, which I think to be of no less consequence in the present posture of affairs. In the interim I pray God to have you in His holy care, and assure you of my perfect esteem and thankfulness.

CHARLES.

BARCELONA, *June 20, 1708.*

This letter was quickly followed by another from His Majesty to Sir John.

SIR,—I write the present to repeat what I acquainted you with in my last, a duplicate of which you'll find joined

¹ Apprehensive ; inclined to anticipate something unpleasant. Cp. 'The jealous trout that lay so low, rose at a well dissembled fly,' Wotton (1651).

hereunto. As the enemy daily carries on the siege of my town of Tortosa with great vigour, and there's great reason to fear it cannot hold out long against the sharp attacks of the enemy (at least, if it cannot be succoured suddenly) I hope you'll omit nothing that may hasten¹ the transportation of the troops, and of the Queen my spouse. And that the former may be speedily transported, and, in conjunction with those already here, attempt the succour of my said town and receive the orders from the Count de Staremborg, you'll do me a most agreeable service in disposing affairs in such manner that the said troops may be disembarked at Salou²; and, if possible, the transports sent before with a convoy; and the rest of the fleet serve to conduct the Queen my spouse. In the interim, I pray God keep you in His holy care, and assure you of my perfect and constant esteem and thankfulness.

CHARLES.

BARCELONA, *June 26, 1708, N.S.*

To these two letters, Sir John returned the following answer by the Milford:—

ALBEMARLE, *June 25, 1708, O.S.*

SIR,—I am honoured with your Majesty's letter, and most humbly beg leave in answer thereto to lay before your Majesty that I was obliged on my arrival here, not only to take up a good number of embarkations at Genoa, but to send four men-of-war and ten transports to Leghorn for part of the forage for the horses, which are not yet arrived; the fitting those at Genoa, and loading others at Leghorn, having been retarded by bad

¹ 'The king of Spain has written to Sir John Leake, to desire him to make all possible haste: but these exhortations ought to have been made somewhere else; for the Admiral has not lost one minute of time to get the troops on board.' See an account from on board the fleet in the *Political Mercury* for July, 1708.—*Author's Note.*

² Thirty miles N.E. of Tortosa; sixty W. by S. of Barcelona.

weather. But being now all ready, and the wind fair, I expect them every moment. Some part of the foot are arrived and on board, and I hope all the horse and the rest of the foot will not only get hither, but be embarked by Monday or Tuesday night. Her Catholic Majesty is upon the road and expected in two or three days at Genoa ; so that as soon as it shall be Her Majesty's pleasure to embark, I shall proceed without delay, if the wind and weather will permit me ; and greatly hope to arrive timely enough to give the troops I shall bring with me an opportunity, in conjunction with your Majesty's army now in Catalonia, to relieve Tortosa. Your Majesty, by your wonted royal goodness, encourages me to hope your Majesty will believe I have been as diligent and expeditious as I could in getting ready the embarkation, though I'm afraid the favourable constructions your Majesty is pleased to put upon my actions, is chiefly, if not altogether, indebted to your Majesty's goodness. All that I can say is that I shall always, with the strictest application, take pleasure in demonstrating, that

I am, Sir,
Your Majesty's, &c.,
J. LEAKE.

P.S. Just as I was closing this, I received the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 26th instant, N.S., and humbly take leave to assure your Majesty that I will do everything that is possible for me to do for your Majesty's service ; but fear, as the troops are disposed in all the ships of war, I shall be obliged to land the Queen before they can proceed to Salou, and therefore beg your Majesty will please to give directions that Her Majesty may be landed as soon as I arrive at Mataró.¹

J. LEAKE.

In the meantime Sir John received the two following letters in relation to the Queen's embarkation :—

¹ Seventeen miles to the north of Barcelona.

(1) SIR,—I did not think I ought to send Captain Weis again without a few lines to thank you for the favours he informs me he has received from you. I am infinitely sorry that I had not this honour myself, to testify my thankfulness to you; but the obligation I am under to serve Her Majesty will not allow me to be absent, and, Sir, you may believe this is the reason that I was not with you before, to adjust every thing necessary relating to the transportation of Her Catholic Majesty. I know your intentions are entirely disposed to serve her. I have told mine to the Captain above-mentioned, and pray you will allow him the honour to communicate them to you, and so to regulate things in general, that the Queen, when she arrives at S. Pier d'Arena (which I hope will be Wednesday next) may wait for nothing but a fair wind to proceed on her voyage. He has particular directions from me to desire you to find out a sure way to carry the Queen aboard of ship, in case she cannot come to an anchor near S. Pier d'Arena. It is necessary that His Highness the Bishop Dasnaburgh and myself should accompany Her Majesty on board your own ship, in which you are to transport her to Barcelona, and there give her in charge to the Admirante. I am informed the road to Vado by land is impracticable, and feluccas are too dangerous for the Queen to come in, and a ship of the Third Rate, when at sea, is subject to be forced by contrary winds, into some other port; for which reason I pray that you will seriously reflect on it. I am heartily sorry I could not relate this to you myself, but hope, in a short time, to have the honour to kiss your hands, and though altogether a stranger, I desire nothing more than that you will believe me to be with great sincerity,

Sir,

Your most, &c.,

FERDINANDO COUNT MORLAR.

(2) SIR,—The pleasure which I take to serve Her Majesty the Catholic Queen is so much the more desirable, because of having an opportunity to be acquainted

with a person of your merit, and to tender you my service. Her Majesty is resolved to depart from Milan on Saturday next, and designs to be at S. Pier d'Arena the 11th at night. If 'tis possible to embark her from thence, it may be done the 12th. But, Sir, if you judge that cannot be conveniently done, she will go by land and be at Vado the 13th, and will follow your sentiments the more willingly, as having an entire confidence in your knowledge and experience. This course was designed to have been altered; but besides the danger of sickness and the badness of the roads, to go to Finalmarina would have lost so much time, that Her Majesty could not have arrived before the 20th; for it was omitted to notify to His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy the passage which she was to make through his state. The ways were likewise unrepaired, and to take up new carriages, to settle lodgings, and provide provisions for a retinue of four hundred persons, would have consumed a considerable time, which may be employed to much better purpose in conducting your fleet to Barcelona as soon as possible; which His Catholic Majesty impatiently expects. I thought I ought to give you this advice, assuring you of the perfect esteem with which

I am, Sir, your, &c.,

CHARLES PRINCE OF LARAMES.

Sir John having considered upon the subject of the Queen's embarkation, thought it would be most convenient, as well as most expeditious, to take her at once on board the ship wherein she was to proceed to Spain. And believing, by the accounts he had received, that Her Majesty was now upon her journey, the 26th he ordered Sir Thomas Hardy, his First Captain, to take under his command the Albemarle, Defiance, Northumberland, Dunkirk, Colchester and Isabella yacht, and lie in a readiness with them without the Mole of Genoa, for the reception of Her Catholic Majesty, her court and equipage; and having

embarked Her Majesty on board the Albemarle, to conduct her in safety to the fleet at Vado.

Accordingly, the next day the Admiral shifted his flag from the Albemarle on board the Cornwall, and Sir Thomas sailed, pursuant to his orders, for Genoa. In the meantime, the embarkation of the forces (which began the 24th) was carried on as fast as they arrived at the sea-side; and the 26th, the four men-of-war with the ten transports and the forage on board arrived from Leghorn, together with the Centurion, which had been cleaning and refitting at that place. These ships were followed by a petition from the merchants, which was brought [to] the Admiral the day after their arrival, with a letter from Mr. Crow the British Consul at Leghorn, complaining against the commanders of those ships for impressing seamen out of the English merchant ships in that port, to the great discouragement and disadvantage of their trade. Which, upon enquiry, being found to be true, Sir John directed those very men that had been taken to be sent back again; giving at the same time strict orders to all the ships of the fleet to prevent the like practices for the future; as he was always very forward to discourage any practices that were injurious to the seamen, and detrimental to trade.

He had no sooner given them satisfaction in this point, than he received another petition from the same merchants, accompanied by a letter of the 8th of July, N.S., from Dr. Newton at Florence, representing that there were four galleys of France and some galliots, lying off of the Port of Leghorn, which did not only intercept the trade to that port, but threatened even a total ruin of it, unless they were suppressed,

and [suggesting that] some of Her Majesty's men-of-war could be spared from the fleet and sent thither, to clear those seas from the enemy. Upon this letter and the merchants' petition, a council of war was held on board the Cornwall, the 2nd of July ; and it was resolved that the Centurion, Poole, and Falcon pink should cruise three weeks between Corsica and Leghorn, to protect the trade of Her Majesty's subjects and her allies. And Major-General Stanhope having requested a ship might be sent to Genoa, to receive on board a sum of money from Mr. Chetwynd, Her Majesty's Envoy at Turin, to carry to Barcelona for the use of the King of Spain and the troops in Catalonia ; it was agreed that as soon as they had performed the aforesaid service, they should then proceed to Genoa, and from thence bring what money or letters they should find there for the service of the King of Spain, the fleet or army, to Barcelona ; where orders should be left, if the fleet was not there, for their further proceedings.

These resolutions were immediately put in execution, with these further directions, that from time to time, during their cruise, they were to see the trade into Leghorn ; and upon intelligence that the enemy were at an anchor at Corsica, or any other port near Leghorn (if it was judged practicable) they were to attempt to destroy them. But though they had not the good fortune to do so, the enemy flying upon their approach, they executed their orders so well, and arrived in their station so seasonably, that the consul and merchants thought themselves bound to return the Admiral a letter of thanks some time after, *'for so seasonably protecting their trade, as well as the early and effectual*

relief he gave them in relation to the pressing of seamen from the merchant ships, which laid them under the greatest obligations to him!'

He had likewise the satisfaction to receive a letter from Captain Hughes, whom he had appointed commandant of the cruising squadron in the Straits' mouth, giving him an account that they had taken and forced ashore near Marbella, one ship of 32 guns, one of 10, and a settee, which the enemy set fire to.

Having dispatched these few occurrences which happened in the interim, and the troops being made to embark,¹ it is time to return to Her Catholic Majesty, who was the daughter of the Duke of Wolfenbüttel, born a protestant, but at the instigation of some of her relatives persuaded to change her religion for a crown.² The 24th of June she set out for Pavia, from whence she proceeded the 27th on her journey, and dined at Cava in the Duke of Savoy's territories; where she was complimented and entertained in His Royal Highness's name by the Marquis de St. George, attended by a great number of nobility. She lay that night at Voghera, the

¹ In *The Political State of Europe* for July, 1708, it is said that the troops designed for Spain, being ready to embark, Sir John Leake thought fit to wait on the Queen of Spain at Milan, and arrived there the 17th of June. From hence Lediard, in his *Naval History*, has copied this mistake, as well as sending Sir John Norris to compliment the Queen. This is not only false in fact, but highly absurd, to imagine that the Commander-in-Chief should leave his command, and neglect the embarkation of the troops, to go two or three days' journey up in the country, and pay a compliment which was not expected from him.—*Author's Note*. (The reference to Lediard will be found in vol. ii. p. 831. See also below, p. 294n).

² Elizabeth Christina, daughter of the Duke of Brunswick.

following at Serravalle,¹ and arrived at S. Pier d'Arena near Genoa the 30th of June in the evening, but would not go into that city, because they refused to acknowledge her Queen of Spain.

The next day they new berthed the Albemarle nearer to the place where the Queen lodged, and received the Queen's baggage on board. And the following morning Her Majesty designed to have embarked; but [it] blowing a fresh sea breeze she was prevented; but about six in the evening [it] being calm, and the sea much down, Her Majesty came on board the Albemarle, which for that purpose was made as commodious as possible. The great cabin and bed-chamber for her use being furnished and hung with crimson damask, and other conveniences suitable to the Queen, which had been provided some days before by a person appointed to do it at the King of Spain's charge.

As soon as Her Majesty was on board, the Albemarle fired twenty-five guns and every [other] ship twenty-one, immediately weighing anchor; and the next day at noon [they] joined the fleet at Vado. This happened very opportunely, for the last of the horses had been embarked but the evening before, so that as Her Majesty had not waited for the forces, so neither had the troops waited for Her Majesty, which was altogether owing to the Admiral's unwearied application. For as he used the most pressing instance to hasten the Queen, who thereupon set out sooner than she would else have done; so if he had not hastened the troops to the sea-side, and continued upon the spot, and used his utmost diligence for their embarkation, there were so many obstacles, that the Queen might pro-

¹ 'Saravalle,' author's spelling.

bably have waited for them some time. But everything was so ordered against her arrival that the transports were all ready, the fleet unmoored, and nothing wanting but a fair wind.

It was the 3rd of July, about two o'clock in the afternoon, when the Albemarle with the Queen on board, and the other ships arrived at Vado, and were saluted by the cannon of the whole fleet. As soon as the salute was over, Sir John re-hoisted his flag on board the Albemarle, and was received by Her Majesty with all possible marks of esteem. He endeavoured to sail that evening, but a strong gale blowing from the sea prevented him. But the next morning, about five o'clock, he weighed from Vado, and an hour after, being joined by the transports, made sail, with about 134 of all sorts, 2200 horse, and 3600 foot. Coming off of the castle of Finalmarina, they were saluted three times with twenty-four guns each time, which the Admiral returned with eleven guns.

In their passage, the 7th instant, a felucca arrived in the fleet, being sent express from Barcelona, which place she left six days before, with the following letter from His Catholic Majesty to Sir John, viz.,

SIR,—It is with great uneasiness I expect to hear news from you, for at this place I have received none other than of your arrival in Italy, and that of the Queen my spouse at Milan. I hope at present you are on your voyage, or that you'll speedily proceed on it, and bring me the succours, upon which the preservation or loss of my town of Tortosa will depend. I told you in my last (a duplicate of which you will find joined hereunto) that it was my intention the said succours should be put ashore at Salou. I shall only at present add that the Count Staremberg having desired that the Palatine

Horse may be disembarked at Palamos,¹ you'll very much please me in complying therewith, and in putting the rest of the troops ashore at Salou. You'll impart this to the Generals who command the Imperial and Palatine troops for their directions; and in case there should be occasion to make any further disposition of them, in regard to the division and distribution of the troops, I'll take care to give you notice of it myself, or by Envoy Stanhope. As to what concerns the person of the Queen my spouse, I refer you to what I told you here, and to what the Count de Cordane will inform you from me, it being always my intention, for the better disposition and preparation of everything for her reception, that she should be disembarked at Mataró with her retinue and the equipage which she shall think necessary to attend her person, and that all the rest should come directly to this city at present. I pray God have you in His holy care, and assure you of my perfect esteem and thankfulness.

CHARLES.

BARCELONA, *July 11, 1708.*

In compliance with His Majesty's desire in this letter, Sir John ordered Sir Edward Whitaker, Rear-Admiral of the Red, when he should make the signal by hoisting a blue flag at the fore topmast-head and firing a gun, to make the best of his way with the Palatine troops for Palamos. The 7th, in the evening, they had very fresh gales, whereby several of the transports sprang their topmasts and received other damage, which obliged the Admiral to lie by till five the next morning, when he made sail again. The 11th, being near Barcelona, he dispatched the Colchester thither with the Count de Oropesca and his retinue, and a letter for His Catholic Majesty, to acquaint him of the approach of the

¹ Sixty miles N.E. of Barcelona.

fleet with the Queen and troops ; which letter was as follows :—

ALBEMARLE AT SEA, *July 11, 1708.*

SIR,—I humbly take leave to acquaint your Majesty of my approach towards the coast of Catalonia, and hope in three or four days, if the wind is anything favourable, to be at Mataró with the Queen, your Majesty's royal spouse. I am honoured with your Majesty's letter of the 11th instant, N.S., and shall order the Palatine troops to be landed at Palamos. But as the infantry are distributed on board all the ships of war, except those I bring with me to Mataró, and [as], while we continue at sea, it is impossible to distinguish the transports which have the Palatine Horse from the others, [I] shall therefore be obliged to send them all to Palamos first, and then forward the others with as little loss of time as possible.

I am, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

Two days after, the Fowey was dispatched before the fleet to Barcelona, having Count Galves on board, and the following letter to His Majesty :—

ALBEMARLE AT SEA, *July 13, 1708.*

SIR,—I did myself the honour to write to your Majesty by Captain Leake of the Colchester, the wind being then northerly, which would have served to carry the transports to Palamos, and¹ there would have been very little time lost in dividing the troops, and forwarding the Germans to Salou. But the wind coming westerly, it is my humble opinion that all the troops [should] be brought to Mataró ; and if the Palatine Horse be landed there, and the Germans sent by sea to Salou, 'twill facilitate the service much more than by sending the former to Palamos. For the men-of-war that must be sent with them for the conveniency of their long-boats for disembarking the horse, have infantry on board,

¹ Sc. Where.

which must afterwards go to Salou to land them, and I very much fear Tortosa may be in danger for want of those troops. For if the wind continues westerly, it may be at least eight or ten days before they can get from Palamos to Salou.

I have prayed the favour of Count Galves to wait upon your Majesty with this, and to inform your Majesty more particularly of the inconveniences that may happen, as likewise the loss of time in relieving Tortosa, if the first disembarkment be made at Palamos. But if there be a necessity of doing it, the division may be made at Salou and both forwarded at the same time, which is impossible to be done at sea, as I have had the honour already to acquaint your Majesty.

I am, Sir,
Your Majesty's most, &c.,
J. LEAKE.

The next morning after Sir John had dispatched this letter, he bore away for Mataró and by eleven o'clock anchored there, and at noon was joined by the York, Lancaster and Colchester from Barcelona, and received the following letter from the King of Spain:—

SIR,—I have received your letter of the 13th instant, O.S., by which you inform me of your approach towards the coast, and of the difficulties which present [themselves] concerning the disembarking the Palatine Horse at Palamos, and the rest of the troops at Salou, as I desired in my last. I have therefore thought fit to let you know that the scene of affairs being entirely changed in this principality by the loss of Tortosa, and by the march of the troops (which before were near Gerona) towards the mountains, I was of opinion, that they should be joined by the Palatines. At present it is my desire that you send all the ships and vessels which have troops on board, as well the Imperials as Palatines, to my town of Tarragona, there to be disembarked, that they may the sooner join the army,

which is encamped in the neighbourhood of that town, and afterwards to undertake such operations as shall be judged expedient. As to what concerns the Queen my spouse, her retinue and equipage, I desire that they may be brought directly to Mataró and there be disembarked, and till I have the pleasure of saluting you, I assure you of my perfect esteem and thankfulness.

CHARLES.

BARCELONA, *July 24, 1708, N.S.*

In pursuance of this letter, he countermanded the orders he had given to Sir Edward Whitaker, and directed him with eight sail, an hospital, a fireship and two bombs, all the transports, and the men-of-war and transports of the States General, which had troops on board, to proceed to Tarragona, and having disembarked them to rejoin him at Barcelona.

The fleet being thus arrived at Mataró after a passage of ten days from Vado, about six in the evening Her Majesty was landed at a wooden bridge, which was built for that purpose a considerable way into the sea, and under a triple discharge of the cannon of the fleet. During the time she was on board, she showed a great deal of affability and good nature; and as it was fair weather for the most part, she would divert herself sometimes by seeing the sailors perform their sea sports, and show their dexterity upon the ropes; and at other times sit upon the quarter deck, whilst the marines went through their exercise, without expressing the least fear; and as she was hardly sea-sick the whole passage, it made her think the voyage very agreeable.

The day after the Queen landed, His Catholic Majesty went incognito to see her,¹ and was admitted amongst other gentlemen to kiss her hand; but when he came towards her for that

¹ He had been married by proxy.

purpose, looking upon his picture which she had by her side, she discovered him to be the King. The 21st,¹ both their Majesties made their public entry into Barcelona, the Queen in a rich chariot, drawn by eight white Neapolitan horses, the King riding on horseback, attended by his great officers, nobility and magistrates; the streets being lined with the city militia, horse and foot. In this manner they proceeded to the great church of St. Mary, and were married by the Archbishop of Tarragona, from whence they went to the Viceroy's palace to a splendid entertainment, prepared upon that occasion. During the procession, the cannon of the fleet kept a continual fire, and the evening concluded with bonfires, illuminations and fireworks, and there was a ball at the palace. The next day these rejoicings were renewed, upon the news of the success of the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders against the common enemy²; the fleet upon that occasion spreading all their colours, and firing every ship twenty-one guns. But these rejoicings were something allayed by the surrender of the important town of Tortosa, which happened fourteen days before the arrival of the fleet, which however could not have been prevented if they had arrived sooner, the enemy being still double to the allies in infantry. But to return to the fleet.

The Queen's retinue and baggage being landed, the 16th Sir John weighed from Mataró to go to Barcelona. But by reason of calms and the current setting to the eastward, he was obliged several times to anchor, and did not reach Barcelona Road till the next day. Soon after he waited upon Their Majesties at their palace, and met with a most gracious reception. His Majesty

¹ N.S.

² Oudenarde, July 11.

was pleased to thank him very kindly, as well for the care he had taken of Her Majesty's person, as of the embarkation of the troops, which he was satisfied had been very much facilitated and hastened by his zealous endeavours. And the Queen expressed great satisfaction at the entertainment she had met with on board his ship, and returned him her thanks, as well as to the officers and ship's company for the respect and care they had showed to her person. And by Her Majesty's directions, a diamond ring of £300 value had been provided which was presented to Sir John in the Queen's name by one of the grandees of the court, who was sent on board the Albemarle for that purpose. At the same time two other rings of less value were presented to Sir Thomas Hardy and Captain Martin, the Admiral's two captains, and a handsome present in money was given to the ship's company.

In the meantime the York was dispatched the 18th to Algiers with General Stanhope's letters to the British consul at that place. And the next day the Lancaster and two sail more sailed with money for the garrison of Denia, and with orders to call at Tarragona and transport some soldiers from thence to Alicante; and the marines at Alicante to carry to Denia, to reinforce that place; and, if the town was besieged by the enemy, to give all possible assistance and preserve it from falling into the enemy's hands. At the same time the Restoration, Essex and Dunkirk were detached to Tarragona, to bring all the marines from thence to Barcelona, that they might proceed with the fleet to Sardinia, Sir Edward Whitaker, with his detachment and the transports, having joined the Admiral the day before.

CHAPTER IV¹

The taking of Cagliari, the metropolis of Sardinia, whereby the whole island is reduced to the obedience of King Charles.

WHEN Sir John had landed the Queen and disembarked the troops, he immediately applied himself to make preparations for the further operations of the fleet that campaign. The conquest of the isle of Sardinia was the next expedition to be undertaken, according to the dispositions of the King of Spain before they sailed for Italy, as of the greatest importance for subsisting the army of the allies. And the necessity of undertaking this enterprise was now much greater by the addition of near 6000 men, and 2200 horses. As Sir John therefore expected His Majesty's directions every day for proceeding to Sardinia, he ordered everything accordingly, that nothing might be wanting to make that attempt successful.

For this purpose he wrote to General Stanhope, to meet him and confer with him, and likewise to supply him with (1) such materials as might be wanting, more than the fleet could provide, to carry on a siege, if the city of Cagliari, the metropolis of that island, would not submit without it, and (2) a good engineer to conduct it ;

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 19th July to 14th August, 1708.

desiring him at the same time that the additional forces designed to join the marines in that enterprise might be hastened to Barcelona, in order to be embarked, that no time might be lost in proceeding on that service. For he did not doubt but the ships he had detached to Tarragona for the marines which were to assist in the expedition against Sardinia, would arrive by the time those forces were embarked.

In the meantime His Catholic Majesty, whilst he was preparing for the solemnity of his marriage with the Queen and their public entry into Barcelona, did not neglect the consideration of the public affairs. For the 19th he sent the following letter.

I THE KING.

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—In conformity to what (in a council of war held on board the fleet the 29th of May) was agreed, declaring the great inclinations you have to employ yourselves in such operations during the remaining part of the campaign (after having so happily brought back to this country the fleet with the Queen and troops on board) as will most conduce to the advancement of the interests of my crown, and the good of the common cause, I have thought it necessary to insinuate to you that considering the great importance it is to make use of every moment in pursuing the most promising services conducing to so great an end (in which sentiments I persuade myself you will agree with me), the most sure to succeed in seems to be that such a number of ships undertake the conquest of Sardinia, as shall be judged sufficient to obtain a favourable event.

For that kingdom continues¹ actually to shew a

¹ To make this letter intelligible, I have converted four of the unattached participles into main verbs. The original has 'continuing,' for 'continues'; 'judging it,' for 'I judge it'; 'there remaining,' for 'there should, however, remain'; and 'not doubting,' for 'and I doubt not.'

great impatience to put themselves under my dominion ; and the great abundance of provisions it affords, may supply the scarcity of corn (especially forage for the horse) we labour under in this province. I judge it ¹ convenient at the same time [that] there be appointed some ships to clear the coasts of Sicily and Naples of some privateers of the enemy, to open a passage for the troops that are in the kingdom of Naples to undertake the expedition of the kingdom of Sicily, which (by orders I will send forthwith) will be ready to embark, as likewise the necessary provisions for their subsistence. There should, however, remain ¹ upon those coasts some ships and transports to bring corn to us, and to give us the helping hand in all occasions, that can occur for my service and the preservation of this principality. And I doubt not ¹ but a council of war (I hope you will immediately call for that purpose) will agree to the above-said services.¹

And you having gained the glory of relieving this capital in the siege which my royal person was exposed to in the year 1706 ; having likewise (to the universal satisfaction of all my subjects) had the good fortune to bring the Queen into this country with the long wished-for succour of troops ; and owing to ² your great conduct [having accomplished] the reduction of my kingdom of Majorca, you will, I hope, persist in your laudable actions with equal prosperity, as well in relation to Sardinia as Sicily. Therefore, as to the one and the other expedition, I consider how much it will be convenient for the public cause, and most particularly for the credit of the fleet, that they be executed at the same time ; that it may not be said, that one single operation of the two above expressed can satisfy the warmth and zeal which so great and powerful a fleet as is under your command justly inspires.

I THE KING,
DON RAMON DE VILANA PERLAS.

BARCELONA, *July 30, 1708, N.S.*

¹ See note on opposite page.

² By.

This letter of His Majesty, having been considered at a council of war the 21st of July, it was agreed and resolved that seven men-of-war should be left to guard that coast to prevent the enemy from bringing any succours or provisions to their army, and some transports to supply His Majesty's army with corn ; and that as soon as the marines should come from Tarragona and the regiment of 500 men should be embarked (since no more could be spared from the service of Catalonia), they should proceed with the fleet to Sardinia, and endeavour all that was possible to reduce that island to his Majesty's obedience, and there to consider what ships could be spared to cruise upon the coasts of Naples and Sicily for the purposes His Majesty mentioned in his said letter.

Pursuant to this resolution Sir John appointed Captain Hubbard, with four English men-of-war and three Dutch,¹ to cruise upon the coast of Catalonia, particularly between Tortosa and Peñiscola. Two days after, the Restoration, Essex and Dunkirk arrived with 600 marines from Tarragona ; and the 24th, the Spanish regiment was embarked, consisting of 500 men under the command of the Count de Cifuentes, whom His Majesty had appointed to be Governor if they succeeded, which was all the assistance that could be obtained from His Catholic Majesty. With these he² sailed the next morning from Barcelona, having given out the line of battle, which consisted of fifteen English of the line, and some Dutch, with frigates, bomb-vessels,

¹ Viz., The Elizabeth, Stirling Castle, York, Milford, Wassenaer, Veere, Arnhem.

² Sir John.

etc., the rendez-vous being Cagliari on the island of Sardinia.

The 26th, the Colchester and a Dutch man-of-war were ordered to Genoa and Leghorn, to bring from those places letters and orders for the fleet, and the Sorlings to the latter of those places to refit. The fleet had gone with an easy sail all night, to give the Essex and Dunkirk an opportunity to join them. The former of these waited for His Majesty's letters, and the latter to receive on board some natives of Sardinia, who were thought proper to be sent before to stir up the people of the island to declare for King Charles, upon the appearance of the fleet. As Sir John saw nothing of these two ships, he lay by till towards noon, when he was joined by the Essex; but the Dunkirk had made the best of her way to Sardinia, to land the gentlemen, which were to promote King Charles's interest there. Whereupon the fleet made sail, and the 28th, they made the easternmost head of Port Mahon. The 30th, Sir John ordered the Defiance, Northumberland and Nassau, to proceed before to Cagliari, in order to surprise any vessels of the enemy in that bay; whereupon they made the best of their way thither. The 1st of August they saw the land of Sardinia; soon after which the Cornwall took a settee with Moors on board; and two half-galleys of Sardinia came into the fleet with two Turkish prizes they had taken. About nine o'clock the Dunkirk joined the fleet, having landed the Sardinian gentlemen on the island, to excite the inhabitants to declare for King Charles. In the interim the Cambridge surprised two brigantines of the island in the service of the enemy.

Sardinia is an island in the Mediterranean Sea, from north to south about 170 miles, and about 94 from east to west, and 450 in compass. The air is extremely unhealthy ; but the country, although mountainous, is very fruitful, affording abundance of corn, wine and oil, besides great numbers of cattle. Cagliari, a great and rich city, and the metropolis of the island, is situated on a hill upon the southern coast of the island. It is extremely well fortified with a good wall and regular bastions, mounted with 200 pieces of cannon ; so that, with the advantages which nature and art has given for its defence, it might be esteemed impregnable. As the city is large, so it is very populous, being said to contain 40,000 inhabitants.

Between four and five in the evening, the fleet were near the place ; but [it] being calm, Sir John dispatched an officer before the fleet with a flag of truce, and the following summonses to the Viceroy of the island, and the magistrates of the city of Cagliari, with instructions to demand a positive answer in four hours, that no time might be lost when he arrived before the place, to take such measures as should be necessary.

(A) To his Excellency the Marquis of Jamaica, Viceroy of Sardinia.

SIR,—My coming to this place, with the confederate fleet and land-forces under my command, is to summon your Excellency to surrender the city and castle of Cagliari, and the rest of the island of Sardinia to the obedience of King Charles III, and do expect a ready compliance, or else your Excellency may expect to hear further from me.

I am, &c.,
J. LEAKE.

(B) To the Chief Magistrates and inhabitants of the city of Cagliari.

GENTLEMEN,—I am come into this bay, with the confederate fleet and land-forces under my command, to summon the city and castle of Cagliari to the obedience of King Charles III, your lawful king, and to assure you of all the rights and privileges which you enjoyed in the reign of King Charles II. And as I do expect a ready compliance, [so] that you may have it in your own power to make your own terms with me, your refusal will oblige me to treat you in another manner. For when the troops are once landed, and the bombs destroy your habitations, it will be out of my power to show you how much

I am, Gentlemen, Your friend, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

About half an hour past six, the fleet arrived in the bay of Cagliari, and anchored within cannon shot of the town. At ten the flag of truce returned, bringing an answer from the Viceroy and inhabitants of the city, that they desired a day's time to consider of it. But Sir John, not thinking it proper to give them any time to parley, ordered the bomb-vessels to take their station and bombard the city, which they began about eleven the same night, and by three the next morning hove in 110 shells.

In the meantime the proper dispositions were made for attacking the town early the next morning. For this purpose, he ordered Major-General Wills to repair on board the *Isabella* yacht, and there keep himself in a readiness to land with the marines then in the fleet, the Spanish regiment, and a body of seamen he should order to join him, and endeavour to reduce the city of Cagliari to the obedience of King Charles III. At the same time he gave directions to the several ships, upon

his hoisting a blue flag at his fore topmast-head and firing a gun, to send their respective marines in their boats on board the *Isabella* yacht, and receive the General's directions for their landing, each man being provided with two days' provisions, twenty-four charges of powder and ball, and the grenadiers each two grenado shells with match. And to sustain the land-forces, the Admiral formed out of the fleet a regiment of 900 seamen, in thirteen companies, each company commanded by a lieutenant as captain ; and [he] appointed Captain Evans, colonel, Captain Hartnoll, lieutenant-colonel, Captain Smith, major, and Mr. Jonathan Smith, adjutant ; putting them under the same orders in every respect as before-mentioned to the marines. Sir John Norris was likewise appointed with seven sail to cannonade the town.

According to this disposition, the General and forces were ready at the rendez-vous on board the *Isabella* yacht before midnight ; and, as soon as it was day, the Admiral making the appointed signal, the forces landed to the eastward of the city. But the bombardment had already put the inhabitants into such a consternation, that in a very little time after their landing, being upon their march to the city, the Viceroy and magistrates sent off a flag of truce, with the Count de St. Antonio, desiring to capitulate. And they submitted to the obedience of King Charles upon the terms Sir John thought fit to grant. The town saluted the Admiral with seven guns, which he returned, and the Archbishop and Viceroy came on board the *Albemarle* to pay him their compliments. The same afternoon the Spanish regiment took possession of the city, and in the evening the marines and seamen were re-embarked on board the respective ships they belonged to.

Articles of Capitulation, which his Excellency the Marquis of Jamaica, Count of Villa Lonzo, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty, and Captain-General of the kingdom of Sardinia, has concluded with his Excellency Admiral Leake. Given at Cagliari, the 13th of August, 1708, N.S.

I. That the garrison is to march out at one of the ports of the city of Cagliari, with loaded arms, flying colours, drums beating, match lighted, ball in mouth, and are to have twelve shots of powder and ball each, the garrison having liberty to take their wives, children and baggage with them.

Answer.—Granted. But can have no effect, the garrison having taken on.

II. That they shall have eight pieces of cannon, with that number of charges of powder and ball for each, with all their usual utensils, mounted on their carriages.

Answer.—Not granted.

III. That it be permitted to his Excellency the Viceroy, Marquis of Jamaica, with the garrison, to march to Alghero¹ to defend that place, and for that end they are to have ships and other necessaries to carry them, and other things mentioned in the preceding article.

Answer.—Not granted.

IV. That all the aforesaid particulars shall be carried safely to the place of Alghero.

Answer.—Referred to the former article.

V. That the conquerors are to subsist and furnish them with necessary provisions, at their expense.

Answer.—Referred to the preceding article.

VI. That the city shall not be plundered, nor any person that remains therein molested,

¹ 'Alguer,' author's spelling; Burchett has 'Algueri.'

leaving to everyone the free enjoyment of their goods, having liberty everyone to go freely in the space of six months ; and that all persons of what quality, degree or condition soever, may securely go within the said space of time.

Answer.—Granted, except to the subjects of France.

VII. That no sort of person within the place shall be molested or ill used, either in person or goods, for anything they have done in executing faithfully their office and trust.

Answer.—Granted, except the subjects of France.

VIII. That at the same time the garrison marches out, those of the conquerors shall begin to march in.

Answer.—Granted.

IX. That all the baggage and retinue of his Excellency the Marquis of Jamaica shall freely march out, without being visited or molested, and shall not be detained upon any pretence whatsoever.

Answer.—Granted.

X. That in case the place of Alghero be surrendered, when his Excellency the Marquis of Jamaica arrives there, all and everything shall be granted and continued to the said Marquis which was agreed to when he marched out of this capital ; and also embarkations, with a free passport to go to France or Spain, without that the said Marquis, or any of his retinue be arrested or detained¹ in any of the confederate ports, which by chance they may be put into, and that upon no motive or pretence whatsoever.

¹ *Sc.* And that the power of embarkation be granted him, with a free passport to go to France or Spain, without liability, on his own part or on the part of his retinue, to be arrested or detained, &c.

Answer.—For what relates to his march to Alghero or any other port, that is answered in the third article ; and for the said Marquis of Jamaica being safely conducted with a free passport to a port either in France or Spain, it's agreed to land them in Spain and not in France, and shall be done either in the Grove of Valencia or Carthage, and that the said Marquis and retinue shall not be arrested or detained in any of the confederate ports, on no pretence.

XI. That the said Marquis of Jamaica and retinue, of what quality and degree soever, shall be safely put on board the ships for their transportation ; and that by no means the mob or soldiers shall be suffered to insult or affront him in his embarkation, and [he] shall be civilly treated on board till he comes to either of the places where he is to land, and for that end he shall be allowed a guard and officers necessary to prevent it.

Answer.—Granted.

XII. That upon no pretence the Marquis of Jamaica shall be obliged to march by land, by reason of the unwholesomeness of the air and the heats of this kingdom, excepting what is mentioned in the third article.

Answer.—Granted, except what is mentioned in the third article.

XIII. That the said Marquis of Jamaica shall be permitted to embark with him his own guards, and to carry with him a galley now in port.

Answer.—Not granted.

XIV. That all the aforesaid articles of capitulation, above expressed, shall be faithfully observed without any prevarications, and shall not be infringed or broke on any pretence.

Signed, the Marquis of Jamaica.

Articles of Capitulation made with Sir John Leake, Kt., Admiral of Her Britannic Majesty's Fleet, and Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Fleet in the Mediterranean, by which the illustrious and magnificent city of Cagliari, the head, key, and strength of the most faithful kingdom of Sardinia, delivers itself up to His Catholic Majesty, Charles the Third of Austria, their lawful King and Governor, (whom God preserve) the said city, castle, with the rest of the said kingdom: the magistrates at this time being Francisco Ligreco; Monsignor Ignatio Carta; Salvador Rodaiguez; Diego Lilue, and Eusebie Cossu; the 13th of August, 1708, N.S.

I. That the said illustrious city, the rest of this kingdom and the appurtenances, shall have maintained and preserved in them all the privileges which the most august Majesty of Charles the Fifth, Emperor, and Charles the Second have granted to them, and likewise their acts of councils and decrees of their courts, with the rest of their judicatures, which have from time to time been granted, and they have enjoyed. And the said city, trusting to the favours they have received and hope by their merit to deserve from his Excellency General Leake, humbly begs he would be pleased to supplicate His Catholic Majesty Charles the Third (whom God preserve) the following condescensions, for the entire comfort and satisfaction of this city and kingdom.

II. That all the ministers of justice be changed, and that those which shall be new named, be natives of this kingdom, and to continue for three years only, and be obliged to account for their intermissions; and because the revenues of the civil list consist of many particulars, they shall

only have a salary, in which shall be computed the ¹ that they take care of the principal affairs, which has been always usual, but of late years omitted.

III. That the customs and other profits of trade, which properly concern this city, shall be only in the councillors' hands, and without appeal.

IV. That His Majesty would be pleased to honour this city, to procure the liberty of the Marquis de Villa Clara, of Don Salvator Locky, Don James Salin, and Alex. Fereli, who are now prisoners in France. Signed by the aforementioned magistrates, or councillors of the city of Cagliari.

Answer.—To the first article it is answered and agreed to, provided they cause immediately to be embarked on board the English transports in port such a quantity of corn as can possibly be had for the service of His Catholic Majesty in Catalonia, His Majesty promising to pay for the same. To all the rest of the articles, his Excellency Admiral Leake promises to intercede with His Catholic Majesty, that they may obtain what is contained in them.

The 4th instant, these articles of capitulation between the magistrates and city of Cagliari were agreed upon, signed, and exchanged, and divers slaves who had made their escape from the town in the late confusion were ordered to be restored. Two days after, the other articles of capitulation with the Marquis of Jamaica, late Viceroy, were signed and exchanged: upon which occasion, the new Viceroy, the Marquis of Alconzel, (better known by his former title of Count de Cifuentes) gave a grand entertainment to the Admiral and the rest of the General Officers.

¹ Left blank.

The greatest part of the garrison readily listed themselves in King Charles's service ; besides which, above 2000 horses were found there ready to be transported to Spain for remounting the enemy's cavalry, part of which were disposed of to the dismounted dragoons, which were employed in this expedition. And the new Viceroy, having assembled the deputies of the several states, they gave assurances of their affection and fidelity to King Charles ; and for a proof of it, offered to furnish 30,000 sacks of corn for His Majesty's service, pursuant to the conditions of agreement of the first article of their capitulations.

Thus was the kingdom of Sardinia reduced at one blow to His Majesty's obedience, an island so fertile that formerly it served for a granary to the whole country of Italy ; so that the scarcity of corn in Catalonia might easily be supplied from thence for the subsistence of the troops, which must otherwise have been transported thither with great charge from the Milanese. And the island, abounding with horses, would remount their cavalry in Catalonia ; besides several other advantages, which the bay of Cagliari affords to navigation in the Straits.

As soon as the articles of capitulation above-mentioned, were both signed and exchanged, Sir John dispatched them to His Catholic Majesty, with the following letter.

ALBEMARLE, IN THE BAY OF CAGLIARI, *August 6.*

SIR,—I humbly take leave to acquaint your Majesty that I arrived with the fleet before this city on the 1st instant at six in the evening, and immediately summoned the place to surrender to your Majesty's obedience, to which, after five hours' waiting, I received no other answer than that they desired the next day to consider

of it. I did not think it for your Majesty's service to suffer any delay, and therefore ordered the bombardment of the town all that night; and the next morning, by break of day, landed all the marines. Upon which the Conde de St. Antonio (who in my humble opinion is entirely devoted to your Majesty's service), came on board to me from the Viceroy and the magistrates to tender their submission, and yield the place to your Majesty's obedience. And herewith I send your Majesty the capitulations agreed on with the nobility and magistrates; and as they have been pleased earnestly to desire me to supplicate your Majesty in their behalf that some matters relating to the former government may be better regulated, that they may live more easy than they have heretofore done, I shall esteem it the greatest favour your Majesty can honour me with, if your Majesty will be pleased to make such alterations therein, as your Majesty in your great wisdom and goodness shall think for their common benefit.

The transports, which I have brought with me from Barcelona, I hope in ten days to get loaden with 1200 tons of corn for your Majesty's service, which I shall send under convoy of two or three men-of-war, with the late Viceroy of Sardinia; who being, by the articles of capitulation, to be transported to Valencia, I hope your Majesty will please not to detain him, but permit him to be carried thither accordingly.

I am, Sir, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

P.S. The Marquis de la Guarda, Don John Pula, Capt. Commandant de Capitana, and Don Joseph Rosa, having demonstrated themselves to be entirely in your Majesty's interest; I humbly take leave to recommend them to your Majesty, as likewise Don James Boras de Torise, who your Majesty was pleased to send with the fleet.

J. L.

As the fleet had occasion to take in water, before they could proceed upon further service,

Sir John intended to have sailed the next day to the watering place, called Pula, at a little distance from the Bay of Cagliari, that no time might be lost when the frigates (which were hourly expected) should arrive from Genoa with letters and orders from Great Britain. But the wind did not serve till the 10th instant, when he weighed, and in a few hours arrived at Pula, having left behind him at Cagliari six transports to carry the corn to Barcelona, under convoy of the Norfolk and a Dutch man-of-war; the Norfolk being likewise ordered to receive the late Viceroy and his retinue on board and, having seen the transports in safety at Barcelona, to proceed to Valencia, and land the Viceroy, pursuant to the articles of capitulation. He likewise appointed Signor Bonenchi to be consul for the British nation at Cagliari, his qualification appearing by a commission of the like nature from the late King William III, dated the 9th of November, 1691. And having received information of two settees suspected to be French in the Gulf of Palma, he detached the Dunkirk thither to examine them, but they were not found there.

Two or three days after the fleet came to Pula, Sir John received the following letter from his Catholic Majesty:—

THE KING.

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—Desiring by all means possible to lose no time to increase this army, since the superiority of the enemy and the loss of Tortosa makes me fear [that] some invasion, straitening the country, may reduce this capital to the last extremity; and not being able to imagine that the victory in Flanders can give any foundation for to cause the enemy's just fear: it appears, that how great soever the progress of the allies in those

parts are, so much more probable is it that their troops here (being superior to ours) will strive, as they have been beaten in Flanders, to remain victorious in Spain, to balance the war, the more to foment the projects of peace, which the enemy will never fail to propose. For which reason I have already writ to the Emperor my brother that, in consideration of these great urgencies, he disposes that with all haste two regiments of foot, which will consist of 4000 men, come hither, of those of the Imperial troops which are in the kingdom of Naples, and have a good foundation to believe I may expect it. So on this consideration I desire you (after the expedition of Sardinia is over) that all the fleet, or what part of it you may think necessary for the transportation of the same 4000 men, may go thither, which I expect from your love and zeal of the common cause. And [I] may join to consult this at General Stanhope's house, where will likewise concur the ambassador of the Emperor my brother.

I THE KING.

FROM BARCELONA, *August 3, 1708, N.S.*

He likewise received a letter from General Stanhope, signifying the King of Spain's desire that he would detach such a number of ships, as he should think sufficient to convoy the troops from Italy to Barcelona, His Majesty having taken such measures, that 4000 men (the greatest part of them the Emperor's troops) should be embarked at Naples, on vessels of that country, before the end of September. And having some days before, by a letter from the Conde de St. Antonio, received a proposal made by the said Count for an expedition with the fleet to Palermo on the island of Sicily; the 14th, he called a council of war. And having communicated to them the afore-mentioned letters, and at the same time laid before the council Her Majesty's Instructions to him of the 4th of May for

demanding satisfaction of the Pope ; after mature consideration it was their opinion, with respect to the Conde de St. Antonio's proposition, that since King Charles had wrote to the Emperor for 4000 of his troops that were at Naples, for the preservation of Catalonia, they thought it of greater importance, at that juncture, to transport those troops, as His Majesty desired, than the said Conde's proposal. And in consideration that Admiral Wassenaer's orders for continuing in the Straits would expire in six days, and that the frigates, which were sent to Genoa and Leghorn for orders and letters that might be come from Great Britain and Holland, were not then arrived but hourly expected ; it was resolved to remain where they were three days longer, and then to proceed with the fleet, according as it should be determined by a council of war, if the said frigates did not arrive before that time. And [it was further determined] that the Norfolk and one of the ships of the States General should go convoy to the transports that were loading with corn at Cagliari for the service of Catalonia ; and, when they had seen the transports at Barcelona, they should proceed in company with the Elizabeth, Stirling Castle, and another ship of the States General to Lisbon with the transports that were to be discharged at that place ; and from thence the English should proceed with the Trade to Great Britain.

According to these resolutions, Sir John appointed the convoys, with these further orders to the Commodore of those ships, to call in their way at Alicante for some mules that had been bought up at that place by direction of the Earl of Galway for His Majesty's service in Portugal, which had been recommended to the

Admiral by a letter from Major Richards, Governor of Alicante, some time before ; but to stay only three days for them if they were not ready.

There happened nothing material the rest of the time the fleet remained at Sardinia, unless it be a death of one of the Northumberland's men killed on shore, which made some stir amongst the seamen. The sailors, it seems (as usual) whilst the fleet lay at Pula, would sometimes borrow of the inhabitants a cabbage or a bunch of grapes ; which indeed was a great refreshment, and a strong temptation to them who had so little green trade. As soon as the Admiral understood this, he gave strict orders to prevent the like practices for the future, and several men he caused publicly to be punished, that were suspected, declaring he would make satisfaction to those who had been injured. Nevertheless, soon after this, one of the Northumberland's men getting drunk ashore, they took the opportunity to satisfy their revenge upon him, murdering him (as the Spanish custom is) very barbarously. To palliate this matter, they complained to the Viceroy of having been robbed and plundered by the seamen ; and the complaint was transmitted to the Admiral. In answer to which, he acquainted the Viceroy with what step he had taken, upon the first notice, to prevent such practices and punish the delinquents ; adding that his intentions were to have made satisfaction to the inhabitants for all the losses and damage they might have sustained from the fleet ; but as they had taken upon them to murder one of the seamen they found ashore, he could not answer giving the inhabitants any other satisfaction, since they had committed so barbarous an act. And it

was with some difficulty he could restrain the seamen from taking revenge in their turn. Indeed, considering them as conquerors, and that in their conquests they had no plunder, it was the more excusable to take a few greens or a bunch of grapes, where they found them in such plenty in the country they had subdued. These peccadilloes should have been overlooked, if not for love, yet for fear of the consequences ; and it was a little unnatural to deny them some refreshment after their labours, to enable them the better to pursue their future conquests ; especially as they treated the Spaniards, their enemies, with great humanity and generosity, though in their natures, rough and impetuous. Whereas the Spaniards, who received the benefit of their victories, yet looking upon them as heretics, could one hour embrace their protection, and the next destroy them.

CHAPTER V¹

Sir John prepares to put his orders in execution against the Pope; but at King Charles's desire proceeds to the island of Minorca, which is reduced by the fleet and land-forces. Upon which he appoints a squadron to remain abroad and returns to England.

ACCORDING to the resolution of the council of war, the 14th of August, the fleet, having watered and being then ready to proceed upon further service, were to remain at Pula three days for the frigates, expected with orders and letters from Genoa and Leghorn. The third day these ships arrived, together with the Centurion and Poole from those places, but not any orders or letters for the direction of the fleet. The Centurion, having £40,000 on board for Barcelona, the Admiral ordered [her] to join the Norfolk at Cagliari, and proceed in company with her thither. And the next morning [he] intended to sail with the fleet for Italy to transport the German forces from thence to Barcelona. But as by Mr. Stanhope's letter they were not to be ready for embarkation till the latter end of September, he proposed in his way thither to put in execution Her Majesty's repeated orders for demanding satisfaction of the Pope; which

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 14th August to 22nd October, 1708.

had hitherto been postponed by other more important services. But the Dutch, by the orders Admiral Wassenaer had received from the States General, could not accompany him upon that expedition, as it related only to a particular affront to the British nation, which it seems they did not think themselves concerned in. Nevertheless Sir John resolved to proceed to Civita Vecchia with the British squadron, and drew up the following letter to send to His Holiness as soon as he arrived there.

HOLY FATHER,—My royal mistress, the Queen of Great Britain, being assuredly informed that your Holiness did not only promote and encourage the late intended invasion of Her Majesty's dominions by the pretended Prince of Wales, assisted by the French, but also advanced a considerable sum of money for that end, and in the most public and insolent manner ordered prayers in the Churches of Rome for the success of the expedition (which is an affront of that nature to Her Majesty's royal person, her crown and dignity, the British nation, and all Her Majesty's allies), Her Majesty (expecting reparation for so high an indignity, and that the expenses to which the said expedition has put Her Majesty and her people be repaid) has commanded me to demand of your Holiness the sum of four hundred thousand crowns, and to acquaint your Holiness that, if this demand is not instantly complied with, your country will be put under military execution.

I desire your Holiness will be pleased to return me an answer hereunto in three days at furthest; and I hope 'twill be in such a manner, as to prevent your Holiness's subjects from feeling the rigorous effects of what my duty obliges me to undertake, and the naval and land force, I have the honour to command, will enable me to perform.

I am, Holy Father,

Your Holiness's most, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

The next day, being the 18th, early in the morning, Sir John made the signal to weigh, as likewise for a council of war to have their approbation of the measures he had concerted to put in execution against the Pope. In the meantime a felucca arrived in the fleet, express from Barcelona, with the following letters from the King of Spain, and Mr. Stanhope, which set aside the whole Italian expedition.

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—Having had advice that the city of Cagliari, the metropolis of Sardinia, is reduced to my obedience, and considering it's entirely owing to your prudence and conduct, I could not omit to express my gratitude to you thereupon, giving you my thanks for the good you have done in that important expedition, expecting you will send me the particulars thereof (as I don't doubt you will) and in what condition the rest of that kingdom is in, being persuaded your wise conduct and disposition will evidently appear in the entire execution of that enterprise.

I'll take it kindly [if] you'll thank the subalterns and Captains of the fleet for the service they have done me in being assistant to you ; desiring you at the same time to consider of what importance it is that, after you have finished your operations in Italy, you begin to reduce the island of Minorca and Port Mahon, that the fleet may be secure in those seas and [may be a] better security of my royal person ; and likewise to guard the transports for the subsistence of the army, which this country cannot afford to do.¹ Considering the truth of this affair and its great consequences, I would have you with all possible diligence and speed put it in execution.

¹ Sc. That your battle-fleet, receiving adequate accommodation in these seas, may afford me (if possible) still better protection ; and that the transports, necessary for the subsistence of my army, may acquire in Port Mahon the haven of refuge which Catalonia cannot extend to them.

I have ordered some troops to be put on board the ships that are here belonging to your fleet, under the command of General Stanhope, and [have directed] the galleys to convoy the necessary warlike stores and provisions to begin the conquest of that island and port, till you arrive to finish it (which I promise myself you will). You'll add to the glories you have acquired in your conquests, this, which is of so great importance to the benefit of the common cause and my royal interest. Given at Barcelona, the 23rd of August, 1708, N.S.

I THE KING.

BARCELONA, *August 24, 1708, N.S.*

SIR,—I heartily congratulate with you on your happy success at Sardinia, as well on account of the public, as for the particular honour that will by it accrue to you, who will have the satisfaction of having yourself performed all the eminent services which have offered in this war of Spain. Having received a few days since a letter from my Lord Treasurer, of which I send you enclosed an extract, [and] at the same time the enclosed packet for you; I have thought proper to dispatch a felucca with it in search of you, imagining it might contain some directions on the same matter. For my own part, in order that no time may be lost in attempting a thing of such consequence, and upon which our ministry seem to lay such a stress; I did immediately upon the receipt of this letter, order 1800 men to march to Barcelona, who will be here in two days. I have likewise got ready ten battering guns, some mortars, a good number of bombs, 15,000 cannon shot, and all other such materials as could be got here, with 1000 barrels of powder. I hope to get all on board the transports in five days.

I proposed to the six men-of-war that are here to have carried me with these troops so soon as we had been ready, directly to Minorca, where I proposed to have taken post¹ and put everything in a readiness for you at your return this way, to have concluded your

¹ (?) Posts.

campaign by this important service. Enclosed I send you their resolution, according to which, God willing, I propose to sail this day sennight¹ to Majorca, where I hope to get assistance of men, cannon, and ammunition. For you will be sensible that tho' I have got from hence more of everything than I myself thought was possible ; yet [it] shall fall very short of what will be wanting. And indeed I proceed upon no other hopes than that you will, upon this notice, come hither with the fleet. The force I have will be sufficient to take posts, and to make batteries against your arrival, when I hope you will spare us your marines, guns, powder, &c., and crown all your successes in these parts by the reduction of this important fortress, which if once in our hands, will make us always masters of these seas. I shall with the greatest impatience imaginable expect your answer to this letter, and am ever with the greatest respect imaginable,

Sir, yours, &c.,

JAMES STANHOPE.

The enclosed extract of the Lord Treasurer's letter was as follows, dated June 22 :—

. . . I have the honour of a letter from the King of Spain, in which he is extremely pressing that a squadron may winter in the Mediterranean. Everybody is ready to agree that nothing could be of greater use. But the great question is, 'How shall that squadron be secure in any port of Italy from the insults of the French by a superior force from Toulon?' I conclude upon this head that unless we can take Toulon from the French, or Port Mahon, this thing is no way practicable with safety. I wish the Duke of Savoy may find himself in a condition to attempt the former, but I have but little hopes of that. It remains then that you should dispose yourselves, without loss of time, to be masters of Port

¹ This rather needless synonym for 'week' is found persisting as late as Erskine May's *Constitutional History*, 1863.

Mahon ; and upon notice of it to us, measures may be taken forthwith for the wintering of sixteen or twenty ships there, &c.

The resolution of the captains of the ships upon the coast of Catalonia, referred to in General Stanhope's letter, was as follows :—

At a consultation, held on board Her Majesty's ship the Elizabeth in Barcelona Road, August 23, 1708, N.S.

Present

Captain John Hubbard, Captain Francis Dove, Captain Nicholas Trevanion, Captain Philip Stanhope.

Whereas request has been made to Captain Hubbard, Commander of Her British Majesty's ships on the coast of Catalonia, by the King of Spain and Lieutenant-General Stanhope, that assistance may be given by him and his squadron for transporting troops from Catalonia to Minorca, in order to reduce that island to His Catholic Majesty's obedience—Having considered the orders left us by the Admiral (by which we are at liberty to appoint two ships of this squadron, as should be desired by His Catholic Majesty or Lieutenant-General Stanhope to convoy corn-ships from Algiers or Majorca to Catalonia) in order to show our readiness to comply with His Catholic Majesty's commands, as far as possible, we are come to this unanimous resolution ; that, in regard the two States General ships of this squadron are not by their orders at liberty to proceed from this place after the last of this month, N.S., the York and Milford do proceed with Lieutenant-General Stanhope and the transports and troops

afore-mentioned, to Majorca, in order to take under their care such other embarkations with stores, provisions, &c., as shall be got ready for this expedition, and to attend the service proposed by His Majesty, till such time as the Admiral, (who is acquainted hereof by express) shall give further orders in this affair. And in case we receive no contradicting orders from the Admiral, we proceed with the other two English men-of-war with them to Majorca, and then the two said ships shall return back to Barcelona to expect further orders.

Signed, John Hubbard.
Francis Dove.
Nicholas Trevanian.¹
Philip Stanhope.

In the enclosed packet, which Sir John received likewise at the same time, he had the following letter from England, from the Secretary of State, which came by the same conveyance as that from the Lord Treasurer to General Stanhope.

WHITEHALL, *June 22, 1708.*

SIR,—I have received your favour of the third instant, O.S., from Vado, which I have laid before the Queen, who does well approve of the resolution which was taken in the council of war of the same date ; but hopes, when you have carried the troops to Spain, you will then have time and opportunity to put in execution your instructions in relation to the Pope, Her Majesty having that matter very much at heart ; provided it can be done with consistency to the main service, which you have an account of before this time. The Queen has ordered [that] the States shall be acquainted with this

¹ *Sic.*

instruction in relation to the Pope, that they may send the like to their Admiral. I wish you all good success, and am with great truth,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

SUNDERLAND.

Upon the receipt of these letters, Sir John, having read them, immediately laid them before the council of war then sitting, which he had assembled in order to approve his measures against the Pope, that he might proceed directly upon that service. But the council deliberating upon these letters, and considering how far the season of the year was advanced, and that by the orders Admiral Wassenaer had received from the States General he could not accompany the fleet upon the expedition against the Pope : it was unanimously resolved to proceed with the fleet to Minorca, and endeavour all that was possible to reduce that island to His Majesty's obedience, as judging it to be more for the common benefit of the allies than any other service that could be undertaken by the fleet that campaign. And (it was further resolved) that the beginning of the next month a squadron of ships should be detached to transport the troops from Naples to Barcelona.

Having come to these resolutions, Sir John dispatched the *Defiance* to Majorca with a letter to General Stanhope, to acquaint him that he hoped to be at Port Mahon as soon as him. But if the General was not at Majorca, then the captain was to leave the letter for him there, and go to Barcelona in quest of him ; if he was not at Barcelona, to follow him to Majorca ; and if he did not then meet with him, to join the fleet off Port Mahon. At the same time he wrote the

following letter, and sent it to His Catholic Majesty:—

ALBEMARLE, *August 18, 1708.*

SIR,—This morning I was honoured with your Majesty's letter of the 23rd instant, N.S., and having communicated the same to the Flag Officers and captains in a council of war, do herewith send your Majesty the resolution taken thereupon, and shall sail for Port Mahon this evening. What I have further to add is that the whole island of Sardinia is entirely at your Majesty's obedience, and the city of Cagliari is so strongly fortified by nature as well as with cannon (of which there are about seventy mounted upon the wall) that it is the opinion of those that are better judges than I can be, that five or six hundred might defend it against an army of 20,000. I have furnished the magazines with one hundred barrels of powder out of the fleet, so that they have between five and six hundred in all, and all other ammunition (as far as I can learn) sufficient to maintain the place. I am with all submission,

Sir,

Your Majesty's, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

Minorca is an island in the Mediterranean sea, situate about fifteen leagues from Majorca, and thirty-five from Barcelona; extending from south-east to north-west; in length about fourteen leagues, and in breadth about seven leagues; well stored with wood, large cattle, and mules. The chief city is Ciudadella¹ on the west side; and fifteen miles to the south-east lies Port Mahon, with one of the best harbours in the world, defended by the castle of St. Philip, the strength and key of the island.

The same day in the evening, (viz., the 18th,) Sir John sailed with the fleet from Pula near

¹ 'Citadella,' author's spelling.

Cagliari, and arrived off of Port Mahon the 25th following in the afternoon. But not finding General Stanhope or any troops there, it was resolved at a council of war to cruise off of that place without making any attempt, till Lieutenant-General Stanhope should arrive, or they should receive further advice from him ; it being their opinion they could not land a strength sufficient to do anything with success till then. In the meantime he detached two ships to Majorca to hasten the embarkation of the troops which were to be furnished from that island ; and [he directed them] if the General was not there, to stay till he came or till further order, giving all assistance in convoying the transports and observing the Lieutenant-General's directions. By them he likewise sent a letter to acquaint him of his arrival before Port Mahon that morning, and the resolutions they had taken [on] not finding him there : [informing him also] that one of the islanders came off and acquainted him that the garrison consisted of between four and five hundred French and the like number of islanders, but believed the latter would do no mischief ; withal, desiring the General to advise him of his arrival at Majorca by his brother,¹ or some other small ship that might be with him.

In the meantime the fleet kept plying off of the island, and were not wholly unemployed. The *Isabella* yacht, with the boats, the Admiral sent in under the protection of two men-of-war, to sound for a convenient place to anchor, as well as to land the forces at. In this attempt the castle at the harbour's mouth endeavoured to disturb them, firing a great many shot, but did little or

¹ Captain Philip Stanhope, R.N., of the *Milford*.

no damage, and could not prevent them making what observations they thought fit. And the 29th, the Colchester brought a prize into the fleet [which] she had taken off of Port Fornells¹ in that island, which came from Toulon, laden with provisions and clothing for the French garrison in Port Mahon.

In this interval Sir John thought proper to take into consideration the disposition of the fleet for the winter season, as the campaign now drew towards the close. For this purpose, he called a council of war the 1st of September off of Port Mahon ; and having therein maturely considered his general Instructions of the 8th of January, particularly that part relating to the guarding the coast of Portugal upon the approach of the winter season, it was unanimously the opinion of the council of war that he was at liberty to go to Great Britain, with such a number of Her Majesty's ships as should be thought proper at a council of war, when the winter season should render it necessary, leaving behind him a squadron of ships to guard the coast of Portugal, and to perform what other services should be required by Their Majesties, the kings of Spain and Portugal. The same day the Northumberland and Cambridge returned from Majorca with some settees, having materials of war on board for the army, and bringing the following letter from General Stanhope to the Admiral :—

MILFORD, *September 14, 1708, N.S.*

SIR,—Having received your commands to signify to you wherein the fleet can be assisting to carry on the attempt against Port Mahon, I am to acquaint you that the number of regular troops with me, when all

¹ 'Fornella,' author's spelling.

joined, will fall short of 2000 men, which you must be sensible are few for such an enterprise, especially since the nature of the island will not admit of ships riding near the attack, whereby, in other attempts of this kind, great assistance has been given from the sea. Since therefore we cannot expect any assistance from sea when we are once on shore, I shall beg of you that as many marines as can be spared from the fleet be put on shore to continue there during the siege. And I would likewise offer it to your consideration whether, in case we have the good fortune to succeed, it would be most proper to garrison the castle with marines. I shall likewise pray you to furnish us with one thousand bags of biscuit to be repaid you from Tarragona whenever called for there. As to what you have been pleased to mention to me concerning the ships which were designed to be sent up to Italy to fetch German troops, in pursuance to your last consultation at Barcelona, I am of opinion that His Majesty will so far give the preference to the service in hand, that he will be satisfied if those ships be detained here, either till the matter be over, or till we are in a condition to spare them.

I am commanded by His Majesty to represent to you that by the provision made for this expedition, Barcelona is entirely drained of cannon shot ; and I must further acquaint you that we are disappointed of 22,000, which were embarked in England for this country, but were left behind. We were assured that ships should be sent to Lisbon with the first convoy. We must therefore pray you to furnish us with what quantity of shot you can conveniently spare ; and those ships which go to Lisbon may be assured of being repaid there. I am commanded also by His Majesty to represent to you that it might be of dangerous consequence for Majorca, at this time, to remove the few English marines which are there, and the same has lately been confirmed to me there by the Viceroy. I am ever, with the greatest respect imaginable,

Sir, Yours, &c.,
JAMES STANHOPE.

The same day likewise the Milford and three Dutch men-of-war arrived, the Milford having Lieutenant-General Stanhope on board. But the rest of the ships with the transports and troops being absent, Sir John detached the Northumberland to Majorca, and the Essex to Barcelona, to look for them and hasten them to Minorca; and the 3rd instant they arrived. Whereupon he held a council of war, and they came to the following resolutions: that Her Majesty's ships which were to return to Great Britain, should leave behind them, to assist in the attempt upon Minorca, all the marines they had above their highest complement of men allowed to each ship; and that the squadron which was to be left under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker, Rear-Admiral of the Red, for the winter service, as the treaty with his Majesty the King of Portugal required, together with the ships of the States General, should (notwithstanding the resolution taken at a council of war held the 14th ultimo) remain there, and with their marines and seamen, give all possible assistance to the Lieutenant-General in the reducing of Port Mahon, and continue upon that service as long as he should desire, with regard to the season of the year, the time his provisions might last, and the transporting from Naples to Barcelona 4000 of the Emperor's troops for the service of His Catholic Majesty in Catalonia. And it was further resolved [that] the English ships should supply the Lieutenant-General with as much bread as could possibly be spared, and both English and Dutch all their cannon shot, above what was necessary for their own defence. And since the season of the year was so far advanced and there was an absolute necessity

to go to Majorca or some other convenient place to water, which in all probability would take up some time, it was further resolved, when the troops, cannon, and everything else was landed for carrying on the siege, to proceed with the ships for Great Britain, after they were watered, leaving the rest under the command of Sir Edward Whitaker, to perform the winter services. Her Majesty's Instructions for demanding satisfaction of the Pope having also been re-considered, it was their opinion, if Sir Edward Whitaker had time, and could do it with consistency to the other services he was to perform, that he should put the said Instructions in execution. And Sir John sent the following letter thereupon to General Stanhope:—

SIR,—I herewith send you a copy of the result of a council of war I held this morning, which will inform you how far the fleet is capable of assisting you. And as I cannot but join in opinion with you that 'twill be most proper to garrison the castle with marines, if you succeed in the enterprise; so I shall order Sir Edward Whitaker to reduce the ships that stay abroad under his command to their proper complements of men, and to leave the supernumerary marines to garrison the castle as you desire. I am faithfully,

Sir, Your, &c.,
J. LEAKE.

P.S.—I desire you'll not forget the garrison of Majorca.

It seems the Admiral and General concurred in opinion for putting a garrison of marines in the castle of Mahon, being sensible, not only of the immediate benefit of that conquest to the King of Spain and the allies in the present war, but [of] the future advantage it might be to Great Britain, if we could keep it, either in war or peace. The Admiral was more particularly sensible of this,

having often suffered great inconveniences for want of such a harbour in the Mediterranean. For this end marines were the properest garrison as not being so liable to be drawn off upon any occasion as other troops, and being not under the direction of the land generals. Whether our ministry at home had any design to secure this island to Great Britain, when they first designed the conquest of it, I don't know ; but the measures Sir John and the General took in the business were very agreeable to such a design, and they certainly had such thoughts soon after the island was reduced.¹

In the evening after the council of war the fleet anchored near the harbour, and the forces were landed. The next morning the marines were put on shore except those which had been taken on board from off the coast of Spain which the Admiral ordered to man the ships that were to go home with him. Whereupon all the inhabitants declared for King Charles, and the magistrates of the town of Mahon came and delivered up the keys of their city. Only Fort Charles and the strong castle of St. Philip held out.

¹ In a letter from the Earl of Sunderland to General Stanhope, upon the reduction of Minorca, dated October 20, 1708, 'Everybody looks upon our being in possession of Port Mahon as of the last consequence to the carrying on the war in Spain, besides the other advantages ; which, if we are wise, we may reap from it, both in war and peace. . . . I don't say anything of what you mention in relation to the troops from Naples, because you will receive by Mr. Craggs the Queen's approbation of what you have done in relation to it. . . . I must not omit telling you that the Queen does entirely approve of your leaving an English garrison in Port Mahon, for the reasons you mention, though some of them must be kept very secret.'—*Boyer's Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 351.—*Author's Note*.

The 7th, the Admiral ordered the Dunkirk, York, and Centurion to anchor near the S.E. point of the island, to cover the landing of the heavy cannon, to be placed on the battery they had made on the south side of the harbour. This was the greatest difficulty that attended them in the siege. For there was no place to land them but in a creek within half-cannon shot of the enemy's batteries, which was wholly impracticable in the day-time, and not to be done in the night but with great hazard. Nevertheless, it was attempted that evening, and effected with little loss. In the meantime two English and two Dutch men-of-war were dispatched to Barcelona to convoy the transports from thence to Lisbon and so to Great Britain, pursuant to the council of war of the 14th of August. And the Colchester and Fowey pink the Admiral sent to Leghorn to refit and victual, and cruise off of that harbour for the protection of the trade till further orders, sending by them directions to Mr. Crow, the British consul and agent for victualling Her Majesty's ships at that place, to provide provisions for five thousand men for thirty days, against the arrival of Sir Edward Whitaker at Leghorn with the squadron under his command.

These dispositions being made, the city of Mahon reduced to the obedience of King Charles, and the batteries opened against the castle of St. Philip ; every thing being in such a condition, that it was impossible the enemy could hold out long, one half of the garrison of the castle being natives of the island and well affected to King Charles : the 8th instant, Sir John left Minorca, with seven English and eight Dutch of the line, in order to water at Majorca and then proceed to England, pursuant to the resolution of the last

council of war ; leaving Sir Edward Whitaker with seventeen sail to attend the reduction of the castle of Mahon and thereby complete the conquest of that island, together with the following Instructions for his conduct, in relation to Minorca and the other services to be performed by him during his command in the Mediterranean and elsewhere for the winter service.

By Sir John Leake, Kt., Admiral of the White, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet.

Pursuant to the resolution taken at a council of war held the 3rd instant, you are hereby required and directed to take the ships of Her Majesty and those of the States General, named in the margin,¹ under your command, and give all possible assistance, with the marines and seamen, to Lieutenant-General Stanhope and the forces under his command in the reducing Port Mahon and the rest of the island of Minorca to the obedience of His Catholic Majesty. And when that service is performed, or when the Lieutenant-General is in a condition to carry on the siege without the assistance of the squadron under your command (regard likewise being had to the season of the year, the time your provisions may last, and the transporting four thousand of the Emperor's troops from Naples to Barcelona for the service in Catalonia) you are then to proceed to Leghorn ; and, after you have

¹ Chichester, Torbay, Firme, Northumberland, Nassau, Defiance, Essex, Dunkirk, York, Colchester, Centurion, Winchester, Sorlings, Milford, Fowey, Falcon, Medway prize, Terrible fireship, Blast and Grenade bombs, two hospitals, Gouda, Rotterdam, Arnhem.

taken on board all your ships a month's provisions at whole allowance for their highest complements of men, which I have ordered the Agent Victualler at that place to get ready against your arrival there, you are then to make the best of your way to Naples, and transport from thence to Barcelona the afore-mentioned troops. But if they are not ready, nor orders from the Emperor for their being embarked for the afore-mentioned service, you are then to proceed, as afore-mentioned, without them. And having acquainted the King of Spain with your proceedings, and performed any service His Majesty or Lieutenant-General Stanhope may propose to you which may be judged by a council of war practicable to be undertaken by the whole or part of your squadron, with regard to the time your provisions may last and the season of the year, you are to repair to Lisbon and with all possible diligence get the squadron cleaned and refitted for the sea upon any emergent occasion. Only you are to appoint four or five frigates to cruise upon the coast of Catalonia and Valencia, and to perform any other services which may be desired by His Majesty the King of Spain, or Lieutenant-General Stanhope, leaving such orders with their respective commanders, as you shall judge most for the service; and [seeing] that they clean and refit at Genoa, Leghorn, or Majorca (if the latter may be convenient) once in two months, if the service they may be upon will admit thereof.

And whereas you will receive herewith Her Majesty's Instructions to me of the 4th of May last for demanding satisfaction of the Pope, you are to put the said Instructions in execution before you leave the Mediterranean, if you have

time and can do it with consistency to the other services you are to perform, and it shall be judged practicable by a council of war to be undertaken.

When you proceed to Lisbon, you are to take under your care and convoy all the transports and others employed in Her Majesty's service which are at Barcelona, except those which are appointed to supply the army in Catalonia with corn. And on your arrival at Lisbon [you are] to send to Great Britain by the first convoy those that are to be discharged in the River of Thames and other places, and order the rest to be discharged at Lisbon.

In case application shall be made to you by the commanding officer at Gibraltar for such ammunition, stores, or provisions, as the garrison may be in need of, you are to cause the same to be supplied from time to time from Lisbon, or the ships under your command, so far as can well be spared, taking care that receipts be taken from the proper officers, into whose custody the said provisions, stores, &c., shall be delivered.

And as you are to inform yourself from time to time of the condition of Gibraltar, so are you to endeavour in the best manner you shall be able to have cruising ships in those parts, to protect the trade of Her Majesty's subjects, and of her allies, and annoy the enemy, taking care as much as in you lies that the ships you order upon that service may be ready to join you, if the King of Spain's affairs in Catalonia shall require your going to his assistance. And in such case you are to consider at a council of war whether to go yourself with all the squadron, or send part of them, according to the intelligence you may receive of the enemy's naval strength at sea.

If Port Mahon and the rest of the island of

Minorca shall be reduced, you are to take off as many of the marines as will man each ship of your squadron to their highest complements, and leave the rest to garrison the place. Otherwise you are to take them all on board, and cause them to be borne upon the ships' books as usual, till they shall be otherwise disposed of.

You are, from time to time, to send an account of your proceedings to Mr. Secretary Burchett for the information of His Royal Highness, [the] Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c., for which this shall be your warrant. Dated on board the *Albemarle* before Port Mahon, September the 7th, 1708.

J. LEAKE.

By command of the Admiral, E. Archdale.
To Sir Edward Whitaker, Kt., Rear-Admiral
of the Red Squadron of Her Majesty's fleet.

The 11th of September, the fleet arrived at Majorca. The next morning the Viceroy came on board to pay his compliments to the Admiral, having received great civilities from him in the campaign of 1706, when he reduced that island to the obedience of King Charles. Here Sir John stayed six days to water the fleet, and after a very honourable reception and the hearty wishes of the people for his good voyage, the 17th, he sailed from Majorca, the Viceroy having taken his leave of him on board the *Albemarle* the evening before. The place of rendez-vous in case of separation, with the wind westerly, before the fleet got out of the Mediterranean, was Roquetas,¹ Cape Malaga, or Gibraltar; if after, Spithead was the place. The next day after he left Majorca,

being off of Iviza, he was joined by the York from Minorca, with letters from Sir Edward Whitaker, and the following from His Catholic Majesty to Sir John :—

THE KING.

ADMIRAL LEAKE,—In answer to yours of the 17th, and another of the 29th of last month, containing the capitulations and the council of war held at Pula, I take occasion to signify to you my entire approbation of them, as they redound to your own praise, and give incontestable proofs of your glorious operations ; the consequences of [which is] so important an expedition as that of the kingdom of Sardinia : so that I promise myself by means of your activity and prudent conduct to see it happily concluded, as I have experienced in everything that has come under your care. And I doubt not but you will with equal zeal apply yourself to the expedition of the island of Minorca, on account of the great consequences that will follow to the service of the alliance, and considering the approved experience of those who were at the council, to whom you will give thanks in my name. I hope, when you have finished this enterprise, you will provide in the most proper and effectual manner that there remain a sufficient squadron in those seas to secure them this winter from privateers, who may easily cut off the subsistence of the army, which the country of itself is not able to support ; and at the same time defend this principality from the invasions it is exposed to by the neighbourhood of the enemy. This point I have laid before Her Britannic Majesty ; not doubting, from the sincerity with which she endeavours by all means to facilitate whatever tends to the greater advantage of the common cause, but she will come into it and approve of your proceedings, and your informing me of the resolution taken ; for which you may depend upon my benevolentia, and that esteem which I have always had and shall have for your person.

I THE KING.

FROM BARCELONA, *September 10, 1708.*

To this letter of His Majesty's, Sir John returned the following answer:—

SIR,—I am honoured with your Majesty's letter of the 10th instant, N.S., and humbly take leave to acquaint your Majesty that I arrived with the fleet before Port Mahon, on the 5th instant, N.S., and Lieutenant-General Stanhope in the *Milford* joined me the 13th, as did likewise the rest of the men-of-war and transports, with the forces on board, two days afterwards. I then called a council of war to consider how far the fleet could be serviceable to the Lieutenant-General in reducing Port Mahon, and the rest of the island of Minorca, to your Majesty's obedience, the result of which I herewith send your Majesty. And since the season of the year obliges me to return to Great Britain, pursuant to my orders, I have taken seven of Her Majesty's ships, and the like number of the States General to call at this place to water, and left Sir Edward Whitaker, Rear-Admiral of the Red, to give needful assistance in reducing Port Mahon, and to perform the other winter services. And that he may remain in the Mediterranean some time longer than the ships under his command are victualled for, I have ordered him (when the service of Port Mahon is over) to stop at Leghorn, in his passage to Naples, and take on board at that place six weeks' provisions. But as to what your Majesty is pleased to desire, that a squadron may winter at Port Mahon, I cannot possibly comply therewith without orders, nor can it be done, till provision be made of naval and ordnance stores, and conveniency for careening the ships, the sending of which from Great Britain will take up some time. But [I] hope, if Port Mahon is reduced, and I have the honour to wait upon your Majesty the next summer, that every thing will be accommodated more for your Majesty's service. In the meantime, I have ordered Sir Edward Whitaker to leave four or five frigates, when he goes to Lisbon, to attend the coast of Catalonia, and to perform any other services your Majesty shall be pleased to require of them. It is with all imaginable gratitude and pleasure that I receive your Majesty's approbation of my services,

and shall always esteem it my greatest happiness, if your Majesty will be pleased to believe that, though I may not be successful, my best endeavours shall always be dedicated to your Majesty's interest. I wish your Majesty, and the Queen, your Majesty's royal spouse, all the happiness this world can afford, and remain,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most, &c.,

J. LEAKE.

By the letters which Sir John received at the same time from Sir Edward Whitaker he had the agreeable news that two ships had reduced the castle of Fornells, with the loss only of six men killed and twelve wounded, to which place all the transports and bomb-vessels were sent which before had no secure place to ride in ; and that the Castle of St. Philip could not hold out long. And before he left the Mediterranean, viz., two days after the receipt of this letter, the castle surrendered, and consequently the whole island. Whereupon Sir Edward having left a garrison of marines in the castle, according to the orders given him by Sir John Leake, he left that place, to proceed upon further services enjoined him by his Instructions.

Upon the taking of Sardinia and Minorca a public medal was struck at the Tower, having on one side Her Majesty's bust, and on the reverse, Victory standing on a sea conch, holding in her right hand a palm branch, and in her left the Union Standard, the two islands appearing at a distance, and this epigraph SARDINIA ET BALEARIS MINOR CAPTÆ : *Exergue*, MDCCVIII.¹

¹ 'Capture of Sardinia and Minorca' (and in the space beneath the principal design), '1708.' A photograph of the medal from an original in the possession of Admiral the Marquess of Milford Haven will be found in the second volume of Sir Wm. Laird Clowes's *Royal Navy*, p. 415.

I have now given a full and genuine relation of this important conquest. But I cannot pass over Mr. Boyer's account of it in his *History of the Life and Reign of Queen Anne* without some remarks. An author, otherwise of great credit but in this particular, was either greatly deceived or extremely partial. Mr. Boyer¹ had certainly very great opportunities to come at the truth, which he strictly follows upon most occasions; but here, whatever was the motive, the reputation of the Admiral is wholly sacrificed to raise the glory of the General, by a misrepresentation of some circumstances, which it was

¹ Abel Boyer (1667-1727), to whom our author (from his 'preface' onwards) constantly refers, was a Frenchman who by literary work of various kinds picked up in this country a precarious living, until the publication in 1702 of his *Anglo-French Dictionary*. This was a great success, and reached as recently as 1860 its forty-first edition. In 1703 Boyer began his *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, an annual register of political and miscellaneous occurrences, which reached its eleventh and last volume as the War of the Spanish Succession came to a close. Encouraged by the success of the venture he inaugurated in 1711 a monthly periodical which he labelled with the cumbrous title *The Political State of Great Britain*. This paper, which took the form of news-letters to a friend in Holland, included abstracts of the chief political pamphlets of the hour (still useful); and was the first publication of its kind to contain a parliamentary chronicle and record of debates with any approximation to accuracy. The issues ran to thirty-eight volumes and terminated in 1729 at the editor's death. In addition to his monthly, Boyer managed to sell a thrice-a-week London news-sheet called *The Postboy*, which appeared in 1705 and survived till the autumn of 1709. In 1722 the substance of the eleven volumes of the annual register was condensed into a single folio entitled *Life and Reign of Queen Anne*, and of this volume a second edition was required in 1735. Pope, unkindly but not perhaps altogether unjustly, plunges Boyer into one of the nethermost 'circles' of *The Dunciad* (ii, 413) as a dullard who made even journalism heavy.

impossible he could be ignorant of. His relation begins in this manner. 'The conquest of the island of Minorca,' says he, 'which followed soon after [Sardinia] was entirely owing to Major-General Stanhope, since he was the first projector, and had the principal share in the execution of the design. Having proposed it to Sir John Leake, and finding him backward to engage in it Mr. Stanhope prevailed upon King Charles to exert his power, and to command three ships of war to whatever service the British General should think proper, with which the Admiral readily complied.' It is a little inconsistent to admit, as he does, that the General had but a share in the conquest, when it is asserted to be entirely owing to him; by which I should be willing, however, to think he meant that the design or project was entirely owing to the General, were that true; but it falls out very unlucky that it was quite otherwise.

For method's sake therefore, I shall consider the relation of this author under the following heads of enquiry. Firstly, if Mr. Stanhope was the first projector of the expedition against Minorca. Secondly, if Sir John Leake was backward to engage in it. Thirdly, if the General prevailed upon King Charles to exert his power, and command three ships to follow his directions, which the Admiral, however, (as he says) readily complied with. And lastly, whether Mr. Stanhope had the principal share in the conquest. Which,¹ in short, is to assert that the Admiral was averse to the enterprise, and would not assist therein,

¹ The antecedent is the effect of Mr. Boyer's 'Relation'—which (1) asserts that the Admiral was averse to the enterprise; (2) imputes the whole credit to General Stanhope; and (3) reflects the greatest dishonour on Sir John Leake.

till the King of Spain, at the instigation of the General, obliged him to it by his authority : it is to impute the whole to Mr. Stanhope, and the greatest dishonour upon Sir John, who would, doubtless, deserve the severest censure, were it true.

But Lieutenant-General Stanhope is said to be the *first* projector of the enterprise against Minorca, as of something that he had started, which had not else been thought of. Now, besides the impropriety of this epithet, so far was he from having the first intention, or indeed any thought of himself to attempt it, that what he did in it was in pursuance of orders he received from England, in consequence of the application which His Catholic Majesty had made to the Queen for having a squadron winter in the Mediterranean ; as appears by the Lord Treasurer's letter and Mr. Stanhope's own letter of the 24th of August, enclosing a copy of it to Sir John (before inserted).¹ These letters show that Mr. Stanhope set about it, as a matter which (as he expressed it) the ministry *laid such a stress upon*. It had been proposed to the Admiral as a useful and necessary conquest, three months before Mr. Stanhope thought of it, by the Count de Savillac, Viceroy of Majorca ; but though Sir John would have gladly undertaken it, he could not at that time, being obliged to postpone it for other services, to which the King of Spain had given the preference. The first time His Majesty had proposed this conquest to the Admiral in this campaign was by his letter of the 23rd of August, received at the same time with that of the General's, who had never mentioned any such project before ; and both these

¹ Above, vol. ii, p. 274.

letters were in consequence of the Lord Treasurer's from England. But this design had been projected by King Charles and Sir John, even so long before as the year 1706,¹ and came, as indeed it was most natural, from the fleet, which every day were made sensible of the benefit that harbour would be, from the inconveniences they suffered by the want of it; and by Sir John's letters to the Earl of Peterborough and Mr. Stanhope,² and the resolutions³ taken with regard to Minorca, it is obvious the Admiral intended the conquest of that island in that campaign, and would certainly have accomplished it, could he have procured the assistance of a few land-forces from the Earl of Peterborough. I will not however so roundly assert of Sir John, what Mr. Boyer does of General Stanhope, that he was the *first* projector, (though I think he was). But I may say, that if he was not the first, he had had his eye very early upon it, and was the first who made His Catholic Majesty truly sensible of the importance of that conquest to the allies in the war, and insinuated to the Lord High Admiral the benefit it might prove to the British nation, if it was in their custody, both in war and peace.

As Mr. Stanhope was not the first projector, let us examine the next assertion—that Sir John was backward to engage in it, which must reflect great dishonour upon him, in proportion to the importance of that conquest. But how

¹ See the King of Spain's letters of June 14 and July 20, 1706, above vol. ii, p. 58, and vol. ii, p. 85.

² To the Earl of Peterborough, July 26, 1706; above vol. ii, p. 103. To Brigadier Stanhope, July 28; above vol. ii, p. 104.

³ Council of war, July 19 and 21, 1706; above vol. ii, p. 89.

false this suggestion is may appear by a bare recital of the Admiral's proceedings. Mr. Stanhope first proposed it by his letter of the 24th of August, N.S., desiring the assistance of the fleet and marines. Whereupon Sir John immediately laid aside the expedition he was going upon against the Pope and the transportation of the troops from Naples ; and, calling a council of war the same day, resolved to give the General all possible assistance, '*as judging it to be more for the common benefit of the allies than any other service that could be undertaken.*'¹

This was surely far from backwardness. It showed rather an eagerness to undertake it. And accordingly he carried it into execution ; for having sent the resolution of the council of war with this short answer to Mr. Stanhope, *that he would be at Minorca as soon as him,*¹ he sailed directly with the fleet thither ; but not finding the General there, he dispatched ships to Barcelona and Majorca, to hasten him and forward the troops. He waited here seven days for Mr. Stanhope, and two more before the forces joined him, which yet could not have been done so soon, had he not sent ships to hasten and assist in the embarkation. In the meantime he blocked up the enemy, cut off all supplies, and made some preparations for the landing of the forces. Who then was backward upon this occasion ? Was it the Admiral ? He used the greatest dispatch that was possible upon the most urgent necessity ; but the General, admitting him to be as zealous, was not so forward and expeditious ; neither would he have begun and executed the conquest of that island so soon, if Sir John had not pressed him on.

¹ Above, vol. ii, p. 278.

The General indeed did, upon the receipt of the Lord Treasurer's letter recommending the conquest of Minorca, propose to the Commodore¹ of the cruising squadron upon the coast of Catalonia the transportation of some troops from thence to Minorca. Which proposal, could he have joined in immediately without the consent of the Admiral, would have been ineffectual with the few ships he had, as well as by reason of the want of the marines of the fleet to re-inforce them, and the necessary supplies requisite to carry on the siege, which were to come from the Admiral. It was a little unsoldierlike to propose to the Commander of a detachment, to go from his station, break his orders, and leave the coast of Catalonia, which he was to guard, exposed to the enemy. And therefore it must be supposed the General made this proposition, well-knowing Sir John would approve of any steps to promote that undertaking. But as the Commodore was well acquainted with the Admiral's sentiments in this respect, he readily concurred with the General as far as was possible, assisted him immediately with two ships, and dispatched an express to the Admiral for further directions, as may be seen by the resolution of a council of war² the Commodore called upon that occasion ; so that upon no account was there any backwardness or delay in this affair from the fleet.

The ships here mentioned are those which the historian says, '*Mr. Stanhope prevailed upon King Charles, to exert his power over, and command to whatever service the British General should think proper.*' But surely this writer could not be so wholly ignorant of military economy and the

¹ Above, vol. ii, p. 274.

² Above, vol. ii, p. 276.

nature of confederated forces. The King of Spain had no power to exert over a single ship of the Queen's, unless such ship had previously been put under His Majesty's direction by the Admiral; and in squadrons or fleets nothing is done but under the resolution of a council of war. The orders, even of the Queen or Lord High Admiral (unless positive, which hardly ever happens), are thus to be considered at a council of war, and as they find such orders consistent with the circumstances of the fleet and the public service to be performed, they may either execute or postpone them. For fleets and armies are liable to such various contingencies that it is inconsistent to give positive orders. But it is remarkable, the writer has made His Catholic Majesty exert this authority, before he had proposed the matter to the Admiral, and had been refused. Supposing then such a power in King Charles, there was no room to exert it but upon that necessity. But as to the backwardness pretended, I think I have sufficiently proved the contrary; so that it seems foisted in, in order to raise the reputation of the General, as if he had made this conquest in spite of the Admiral. Whereas, had he been averse to it, it could never have taken effect. But as there was no such power assumed by His Catholic Majesty, or any such backwardness in the Admiral as is pretended; so the extraordinary merit, as well as contrivance our author would attribute to Mr. Stanhope, appears to be nothing else but a trophy of his own imagination, to raise the character of his hero.

I will allow the General to have had *a* principal share in the enterprise, but not that he had *the* principal share. Mr. Boyer seems to have forgot that Minorca was an island when

he said this, and that such a conquest must principally be owing to the fleet. But after having attempted to make the General do it with a few ships, and finding he could not do it without bringing the fleet to his assistance, he admits the Admiral consented to the commands King Charles had given the three ships. But as if that was all the assistance he gave, nothing more is said, only that the fleet continued cruising off of the place. But by the General's letter¹ it appears he undertook it with no other view of success than under the protection and with the assistance of the fleet, and as an action, wherein he was to be rather a party than a principal; the fleet contributing much the greater share, and the General with the forces he brought with him necessary only upon a supposition that the castle would have made a much better defence than it did.

I have already shown how readily Sir John concurred in the attempt; what expedition he used, not only to get thither himself, but to hasten the General and forces; [how] that they were brought thither under the protection of the fleet and succeeded chiefly by their² influence: for Sir John having first blocked up the place with his shipping and cut off all hopes of relief, he then made the proper dispositions for landing the forces, which was effected without loss. The greatest difficulty that attended the conquest was the landing the cannon and mortars, which could not be done but in a creek within half gun-shot of the castle, and which the seamen effected with great hazard and difficulty. Moreover, they mounted the cannon upon the

¹ Of August 24, N.S. Above, vol. ii, p. 275.

² Its.

batteries, which they got thither through the rocks, and by ways impassable for horses ; and this with little or no assistance from the soldiers. And the gunners of the fleet were employed to manage the guns upon the batteries. The marines likewise of the ships made no small part of their land-forces which carried on the siege, and Fort Fornells was reduced by the ships without the assistance of the soldiers ; as indeed, all the island submitted, except the castle of St Philip, without any previous act of the land-forces ; and the whole might as well have been effected with the marines only, but for the castle. This indeed the General conducted with success, but the action was not otherwise considerable than by the consequence. The first battery was opened the 17th, and the next morning the enemy beat a parley and capitulated, with the loss on our side of but forty men, killed or wounded.

Taking away then the first projection of this affair, and the merit derived to the General from the Admiral's backwardness, and the influence the General used, to excite the King of Spain to command the ships to follow his orders ; it is submitted whether the taking of Minorca was entirely owing to Mr. Stanhope, as the historian asserts. And considering how much the Admiral contributed by the assistance, countenance, and protection of the fleet, the seamen, and the marines ; by the supplies of gunners, ammunition, and everything to carry on the siege ; whether, I say, considering all this,¹ the fleet or army contributed most to the reduction of Minorca. There is no other way to estimate

¹ *Sc.* Considering all this, I say, it is submitted whether, &c.

a joint action of this nature. Sir John was certainly in the first station, and had the principal charge in this undertaking; Mr. Stanhope was accessory only. The fleet was the main force that subdued the island. The attempt could not have been made but by the fleet. Therefore¹ the King of Spain always recommended this conquest to the Admiral as being in his province, and depending upon his conduct. And though it was necessary to throw some land forces on board the ships, it no ways altered the nature of the conquest, which could not be effected but by sea. But as there were land forces jointly concerned, let it be said that the island of Minorca was taken by Sir John Leake and Lieutenant-General Stanhope.

The advantages of this conquest, as well as that of Sardinia to the allies were very considerable. For as by the reduction of Sardinia, King Charles was seasonably supplied with vast quantities of corn and great numbers of horses to remount his cavalry; so by the taking of the island of Minorca, the maritime powers, and Great Britain in particular, obtained a spacious and secure harbour for their fleets in the Mediterranean, which they had so long wanted. This conquest likewise brought a further advantage to the allies, by defeating the Pope's and the French King's project, of uniting the Princes and States of Italy in a league against the Emperor, in order to re-kindle a war in that country; the confederate fleet being at hand to assist the Imperialists, who made a considerable progress in the ecclesiastical state, in order to force the Pope to acknowledge King Charles and give

¹ For that reason.

satisfaction to the Emperor. His Holiness had been under continual apprehensions from the victorious fleet under Sir John Leake for some time, and he would have felt the effects of Her Majesty's just resentment, had he not been prevented in the measures he had concerted against that Prince by the interposition of more important services. Nevertheless the terrors of the fleet, whilst Sir John was in the Mediterranean ready to strike, though no stroke was given, did not a little contribute to bring him into a better temper, and prevailed upon him soon after to acknowledge King Charles for King of Spain. Whereupon by the intercession of the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy, Her Majesty was at length prevailed upon to suspend the execution of the orders she had given for bombarding and destroying Civita Vecchia, and putting His Holiness's country under military execution. And I must further observe, in relation to this conquest of Minorca, it has been such a curb upon the Barbary Rovers in the Mediterranean that they have never broke with us since we have been in possession of it.

The campaign being brought to so happy a conclusion by the important conquest of Minorca, Sir John made the best of his way down the Mediterranean, to proceed directly with his squadron for Great Britain. The 26th, as he passed by Gibraltar, he was joined by a felucca from that place with letters from England, advising that four French ships of war from Cadiz were cruising off Cape Spartel, and had taken several English runners,¹ and were to continue

¹ 'Runners, ships which risk every impediment as to privateers or blockade to get a profitable market.'—Admiral Smyth, *Sailors' Word-Book*. Cp. vol. i, p. 332, vol. ii, p. 15.

upon that station some time. Upon which the Admiral left the Restoration and Burford, with orders to join the Winchester and Medway prize that were cleaning at Gibraltar and almost ready for the sea; and in conjunction with them to endeavour to intercept the enemy, not doubting but these four ships would be able to drive them from that station and open a free passage for the trade.

The next day in his passage he discovered three of the four French men-of-war in chase of an English runner and a Dutch merchant ship (both which they had taken if the fleet had not appeared in sight) and obliged them to leave the chase. But they were too nimble for any of our ships to come up with. The 10th of October, being in Lat. 48.30 N. the Lord Dursley, with six sail and a French prize of 24 guns, joined the fleet, being under orders to cruise in the Soundings. The Admiral kept him with him till the 12th in the morning; and then taking the prize under his care, he left his Lordship to continue upon that station. The 15th, they made the Land's End. The next morning the Cambridge was dispatched with the prize for Plymouth, to see her within the Eddystone, and then to follow the Admiral to Spithead. The 18th, the fleet were off of Portland, whereupon the Dutch parted company to go for Holland, their Admiral saluting Sir John with twenty-one guns at parting, which he answered with nineteen. The next day in the afternoon, he anchored two miles without St. Helens, and at eleven at night turned in, and anchored there at three the next morning, and in the afternoon arrived with his squadron of six sail at Spithead, and was saluted by the garrison of Portsmouth with

thirty-one guns, which he returned with the like number. Two days after, he struck his flag and went for London to wait upon Her Majesty, and had the happiness to meet with such a reception, as his long, eminent, and successful services justly merited.

CHAPTER VI¹

Sir John is appointed of the Council to Prince George as Lord High Admiral, and chosen a Member of Parliament. Is made Admiral of the Fleet the second time, and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain. Cruises with a squadron in the Channel; is made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty: with other proceedings in the year 1709 and 1710.

SIR JOHN returned with great honour to his native country after the late successful campaign, having performed himself every considerable action which had been done by sea in the war with Spain from the battle of Malaga. And as after this he went no more abroad, so it is remarkable nothing more of any consequence was performed by sea in the Mediterranean during the continuance of the war. He therefore well deserves the epithet of 'Brave' and 'Fortunate,' which the writers of Queen Anne's reign have given him. This justly merited the attention and favour of the Queen and Prince and gained him the universal esteem of the whole nation; which appeared by some circumstances that happened in his favour at home during his absence. For soon after he sailed for the Mediterranean, the Prince appointed him one of his Council as Lord High Admiral, a promotion indeed not only natural,

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 22nd October, 1708, to 15th November, 1709.

as he was Admiral of the Fleet, but even necessary at that time to give a sanction to their proceedings. For the business of the Admiralty had been very loosely managed by those of the Council who, though mostly admirals, had shown very little judgment or application. Mr. Churchill was one of the Council, and was very assiduous to have Sir John amongst them, as well to serve his friend, as for the extraordinary opinion he had of his judgment and integrity. About the same time likewise, Her Majesty having dissolved the Parliament, and ordered writs to be issued for a new one returnable the 8th of July, Sir John, though then abroad, was chosen both for the city of Rochester and the borough of Harwich, each of these places striving to be most unanimous in the choice of him to represent them in Parliament. Accordingly, he had application made to him from both those places, each desirous to have the preference ; but as it is esteemed more honourable to represent a city than a small borough, he chose to represent that city. Thus, what others cannot obtain but with great assiduity and expense, he acquired by merit only, and the fame of his actions ; a happiness few men attain to.

In the meantime, the joy the nation was in for the successes of the last campaign, was soon allayed by the death of the Prince, Her Majesty's royal consort, who died the 28th of October at Kensington ; a Prince, whose virtues had endeared him to the whole nation, and whose loss gave room for those unhappy misunderstandings which soon after followed. By this misfortune the power of His Highness's council was at an end. Indeed Sir John had been little more than nominally so¹ ;

¹ A member.

for though he had been appointed ever since the April before, yet, as he did not return to London from the Mediterranean till the 22nd of October, he had consequently been but very few days in the execution of that office. Upon the Prince's death, Her Majesty took the affairs of the Admiralty into her own hands, till she should think of a fit person to succeed His Highness in that station, and she was not long in making the choice. For the 25th of November, Her Majesty appointed the Earl of Pembroke to be Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland ; a person, no doubt, very proper for that station (if proper to be vested in a subject and a *land* Lord) having in the year 1702, executed it with great reputation, the short time he was in it.

We shall now consider the state of the war for the year 1709. The French King having the foregoing year miscarried in all his projects, and their finances being in a manner exhausted, they began to entertain very serious thoughts of peace. Hereupon, the beginning of the year 1709, they made overtures, and preliminary articles were actually agreed upon and signed by the Confederates, and ratified by the Queen. But the French ministers pretending they could not sign it, not having full powers so to do ; and the French king himself soon after refusing to ratify them ; the whole broke off, and seemed only to be a feint of that monarch, to gain time and make a show, as if he was disposed for peace, the better to amuse and deceive his miserable subjects. But this did not stop the necessary preparations of the allies for the next campaign, which were carried on with all possible vigour ; and Sir John was a second time appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Fleet, by

commission dated the 21st of December, 1708, and soon after received orders from the Lord High Admiral to proceed to Chatham, to view the condition of the fleet in that harbour.

Pursuant to these orders he went thither, and hoisted his flag on board the Royal Sovereign, the best man-of-war in England, intending to go to sea in her. And for that purpose, his brother-in-law, Captain Martin, was discharged from the Albemarle, and appointed Captain of that ship, and all the ship's company were turned over likewise. He stayed here only a few days to give such directions as he thought proper upon the occasion and returned to London; and in his way, at Rochester, had the satisfaction to be received with as much honour and esteem, as had ever been shown to any member of that corporation. In January he went again to Chatham, to give some further directions; and the 7th of February, he hoisted his flag again at that place, but struck it three days after. The 21st of February, he received the Lord High Admiral's orders to go to Chatham, to forward the fitting out the ships at that port. Accordingly he went down in the Mary yacht, and hoisted his flag the 26th of February, continuing the same till the 6th of March, and from the 14th to the 18th following at Blackstakes, when he returned in the same yacht to Chatham and so to London.

The reason of the dispatch used upon this occasion was to hasten the equipment of a squadron, intended to be sent to the Baltic under his command, and the Royal Sovereign and several other ships were assembled at the Nore for that purpose. But before they were ready to proceed thither, the Lord High Admiral, thinking an inferior flag

sufficient, appointed Sir John Norris to command that squadron. Whereupon the Royal Sovereign was ordered to return into Chatham river, and the *Russell*, a Third Rate of 80 guns then at the Nore, was appointed for the Admiral, for Channel service, and Captain Martin and the crew were turned over into her. Whilst these things passed with regard to the fleet, Sir John did not neglect his seat in Parliament, but constantly attended the business of the sessions till they were prorogued, except in the few instances before-mentioned, when he was required to perform his duty as Admiral.

The 24th of May Her Majesty was pleased to constitute Sir John Rear-Admiral of Great Britain and of the Admiralty thereof, by patent under the great seal as usual ; the second that had been appointed in that post (Sir Clowdisley Shovell being the first) which before the Union was called Rear-Admiral of England, &c., a post of great honour ; the said officer and the Vice-Admiral¹ being next, and immediately under, the Lord High Admiral for the direction of maritime affairs. And this [office] of Rear-Admiral is generally conferred upon the senior Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the Fleet by way of eminence above others, who have or may have that command.

Soon after Sir John's intended expedition to the Baltic was laid aside, he was appointed for the home service in the Channel. And the beginning of June, he received the Lord High Admiral's orders to take upon him the command of a cruising squadron then in the Downs. He went thither

¹ The ' Vice-Admiral ' at this time was Rooke, who was living in retirement. At his death, which occurred in 1709, the office fell into abeyance.

accordingly, and found seven sail of men-of-war,¹ ready to proceed upon service, only wanting an additional supply of provisions, which he immediately ordered to be provided. It was the 17th instant he arrived at Deal, where he received the Lord High Admiral's orders the same evening, dated the 13th, relating to the service he was to go upon, which were as follows :—

Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, &c., Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Whereas Her Majesty has received advices that the enemy have bought up a very great quantity of corn in the Baltic, which they do intend to bring to some port of France under the protection of four or five of their ships of war, to supply their present necessities ; and whereas it is of great importance to Her Majesty's service that all possible endeavours should be used for the intercepting the aforesaid vessels and their convoys, for which ² reason I have ordered Sir John Norris to proceed with several of Her Majesty's ships to look out for them in their passage out of the Sound, and the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's ships in the Soundings to do the like in case they should bend their course north about for Brest or St. Malo.

But since they may be come from the Sound before Sir John Norris can arrive there ; and that ³ it is therefore necessary a squadron of Her Majesty's ships should cruise in such manner as may be most proper for intercepting them, should they attempt to come to Dunkirk or some other

¹ Newark, Oxford, Dover, Mary Galley, Pearl, Stromboli, Lyme.

² (?) This.

³ Since.

ports in these parts ; and thinking it necessary for Her Majesty's service that you should on this extraordinary occasion take upon you the command of the ships named in the list hereunto annexed (which I have ordered to rendez-vous in the Downs as soon as possibly may be) you are therefore hereby required and directed forthwith to repair to the Downs and, so soon as any five or six of the said ships shall be there, you are to proceed with them and place yourself in such a station as you shall judge the most proper for the meeting with the said ships with corn and their convoys, should they be designed to Dunkirk or any port in these parts, as aforesaid.

And upon your getting sight of them, you are to use your best endeavours to take, sink, burn, or otherwise destroy them ; and you are to leave orders with the Muster-master at Deal for such of the ships before-mentioned, as shall not be in the Downs when you sail, to follow you without loss of time to the station which you shall make choice of to lie in. But you are to take notice that two of the said ships, namely, the Oxford and Arundel, are first to proceed with the trade to Ostend, from thence to Margate Road, to convoy the Venetian Ambassador to Holland, and then to join you. And therefore you are to give an account to my secretary, for my information, of the station which you do appoint, that so I may send orders to the captains of those two ships to join you there, when they shall have performed the aforesaid services.

You are to continue to look out for the aforesaid ships of the enemy, until you receive my further orders (which will be sent you to the Downs, Harwich and Yarmouth,) unless you shall have advice, which you can certainly depend on, that

these French ships of war and vessels with corn are got into port. And in that case you are to repair with the ships under your command to the Downs, and remain there till further orders, sending as frequent accounts as you can of your proceedings to my secretary for my information. Given under my hand, this 13th of June, 1709.

PEMBROKE.

To Sir John Leake, Kt., Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Fleet.

By the list annexed of the ships appointed for this particular service, the squadron was to consist, when united, of eleven sail and a yacht, viz., the Russell, Newark and Burford, Third Rates; the Dreadnought, Montagu, Rochester, Oxford and Tilbury, Fourth Rates; and the Lyme, Mary Galley, and Arundel, Fifth Rates. But of these, one Fourth and one Fifth were first to proceed upon other services. And of the rest, three were ordered from the Nore to the Downs, one from Torbay; two more were cleaning at Chatham, and the remaining three on the coast of France; a very inconsiderable squadron when united to be commanded by the Admiral of the Fleet; who, for the honour of the British flag should never appear without another Flag in company. But to be ordered to sea with five sail only, and perhaps small ships too (for it was to be the first five that should arrive), was certainly very unsuitable to the post he was in, and rather a command for a commodore or a senior captain, than the Admiral of the Fleet, which ¹ likewise would have been more proper for the service

¹ A commodore's broad pendant.

intended. Few admirals in his place would so readily have submitted to it ; but (as I have had reason to mention upon some former occasions) he would never suffer any punctilios of command, or any personal regard whatever, to come in competition with the public service.

Though he found seven sail of men-of-war in the Downs, yet there was only the Newark, Rochester, Mary Galley, Lyme and Isabella yacht, which were under his orders. On board the former of these he hoisted his flag the 19th instant, his own ship the Russell not being arrived from the Nore. Upon which occasion he was saluted by the Castle and all the ships in the Downs. He remained here two days, getting the provisions on board, and in hopes of being joined by some more of the squadron. But none arriving, the 21st he sailed with the four before-mentioned ships and the yacht, in order to lie in the fairway, to meet those that were to come from the Nore. And the next morning, upon the Flats off the North Foreland, [he] was joined by the Burford and Russell, on board the latter of which ships he removed his flag. And soon after, the Burford having sprung her main-mast, he was obliged to come to an anchor, in hopes to have put her in a condition to have proceeded with him. But upon a survey, finding it would take up at least forty-eight hours to secure the mast, he left her behind, with orders to follow him to the rendezvous.¹

Here he received advice from the master of a ship that had been prisoner at Dunkirk that the enemy's ships were in great forwardness in that harbour. Whereupon the next morning

¹ The Downs.

very early he weighed from the North Foreland, in order to proceed to the coast of Flanders to look into Dunkirk, and then repair to his station off of Ostend, having appointed the rendez-vous S.E. by E. three or four leagues distance from Ostend, but if not there, to follow him¹ N.W. about ten leagues from Schouwen. At noon he anchored within sight of Dunkirk, and soon after sent in the *Mary Galley*, *Lyme*, and *Isabella yacht*, to look into the harbour. The latter, going within two miles of the pier heads, could not perceive any preparations that were making, for there was not a ship in Flemish Road, nor above eight great and small in the basin, and not any of those had their topmasts through the caps. In the harbour they saw between twenty and thirty merchant ships with their yards and topmasts down; and one small privateer of about 12 or 14 guns lay off of the pierhead, and seemed to be ready for the sea. In the evening the *Tilbury* joined him. The following day they anchored off Ostend, and the 25th, the *Burford* joined him, bringing some letters of intelligence relating to the corn-ships.

They met with such bad weather (except the first day Sir John got upon the coast) that the *Lyme* and *Isabella yacht* drove to sea. And the weather continuing extremely bad for two days after, the Admiral was under apprehensions they were lost. However, the third day they joined him again, but the yacht having lost two anchors, and sprung her main-mast, he ordered her under convoy of the *Lyme* to go to Harwich to refit, and then to proceed up the river, as being of little or no use upon that station.

¹ 'And if he was not there, then . . .'

The 29th, he received a packet from England with a letter of Intelligence from Mr. Secretary Boyle, giving an account of the sailing of four French ships from Dantzic, laden with corn for Dunkirk. Whereupon, having called a council of war, and at the same time communicating to them the Lord High Admiral's Instructions to him of the 13th instant, it was unanimously their opinion (after having consulted the pilots) that that was the most inconvenient place for intercepting the said corn-ships, by reason of the sands and the great draught of water the ships of that squadron required. And therefore it was agreed and resolved to proceed and cruise from six to fifteen leagues N.W. from Schouwen, and that the place of rendez-vous should be ten leagues N.W. from the same place. He likewise observes to the Secretary in his letter accompanying this resolution that the enemy's corn-ships being so small, as mentioned in Mr. Secretary Boyle's advice, if he had remained where he was, he could only have been a witness of their getting into Dunkirk, the pilots not knowing the coast well enough to take charge of any of the squadron to follow them over the sands.

Pursuant to what had been resolved in the council of war, he weighed from Ostend the next morning with his small squadron, which now consisted of five sail only. Soon after a small privateer was taken, who reported that about fifteen sail of light frigates were gone to the Baltic for corn, and that some men-of-war and privateers were ordered to be armed at Dunkirk, but could not be ready in less than six weeks. And the 3rd of July by the Swallow prize he received a letter from Mr. Burchett, confirming the said master's report, and enclosing an order from the

Lord High Admiral for seizing all neutral ships with corn on board, bound for any port in France. The *Swallow* prize, being out of provisions, was ordered directly for Harwich to get a supply, and then [to] return. And all the ships of the squadron being short of water, in order to lengthen it out as much as possible, the Admiral directed the beef as well as pork to be boiled in salt water. The reason why they had no greater stock of water (as Sir John observes in his letter of the 3rd of July by the *Swallow* prize) was that two of the squadron, viz., the *Russell* and *Burford*, had been hindered by bad weather, and the time lost by their payment at the Nore; and the other ships being ¹ allowed but a small quantity of water casks for Channel service. Therefore it would not be long before he should be obliged to return to the Downs to water, and [he] proposed it as the most expeditious method to have two hundred tons filled at Dover, and put on board hoys to lie ready against he should come or send for it; and also, that a sufficient quantity of beer might be in a readiness, the squadron not having [sufficient] for above three weeks.

The same day the *Lyme* returned from England. The next day they discovered a great fleet, which at noon they spoke with, being a fleet of merchant ships from Holland and other parts, under convoy of five sail of frigates. The 5th, the *Montagu*, one of the ships appointed of his squadron, joined the Admiral from the Nore, bringing him letters of advice that the Lord Dursley would speedily be sent to relieve him. The 7th, they spoke with a Dutch flyboat, which left Copenhagen the 26th of June and informed the Admiral that,

¹ Had been.

the day after he sailed, he met thirteen French privateers cruising for the Dutch corn-ships; and also reported that, the day before he sailed, a flyboat came in and told him Sir John Norris's boat had been on board him for a pilot and that Sir John was cruising in the Cattegat with seven sail for the French corn-ships, and [that he had been told] by a Dutch flyboat from Amsterdam that eighteen sail of Dutch men-of-war were sailed to bring home their corn-ships. The 10th, the Swallow prize joined the squadron from England.

The 12th instant in the morning, they discovered three sail. Upon which the signal was made to chase, and a Dunkirk privateer of 24 guns was taken, with about 150 tons of corn on board. And in the afternoon another of 18 guns, with 120 tons of corn, both from the Baltic. They likewise re-took a laden collier, and seized a Dane laden with corn, bound for Lisbon as the master reported. But [the latter] not being able to show any bills of lading for that place, nor any letters, the Admiral thought fit to secure him, not doubting but he was going for France. They likewise chased another corn frigate some hours, till the pilots would not venture nearer the sands, but being followed by two Dutch privateers, [she] was taken within sight of the fleet. The captains of these French privateers were strictly examined, and all agreed that there were only four of them sent to the Baltic to load corn, and that one of them sailed before them some time, which they believed was got into Dunkirk. And this was confirmed two days after by a Dutch dogger that came out of Dunkirk the day before, giving an account that there was one frigate arrived from the Baltic with corn, and that there

were not any ships fitting out at that port. The two prizes Sir John sent to Ostend two days after to be sold under convoy of the *Mary Galley* and *Swallow* prize. And as it was probable the army of the allies might be in want of corn, they were directed not to dispose of the cargoes to any till they had offered the same to Her Majesty's commissary there. The 17th, the *Deal Castle* joined the squadron; and the 21st, the *Tilbury* from England, bringing the Admiral some letters from the secretary, with copies of Sir John Norris's letter and proceedings.

Whilst they remained upon this station, there was seldom a day passed but some of the squadron spoke with ships from the East Country,¹ none of whom had corn on board. But several Dutch privateers gave an account that there had been taken and carried into Holland about eight sail of Danes and Swedes laden with corn, suspected to have been bound for France. Sir John continued in this manner cruising with his small squadron, every day in chase of something, till the 24th in the afternoon, when he was joined by the Lord Dursley with four sail, off of Schouwen, by whom he received the following orders from the Lord High Admiral.

Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, &c., Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Whereas Her Majesty's ships named in the annexed list² are under orders to cruise from Lat. 50.0 N. to Lat. 48.0 N. and westing from

¹ Belonging to the Northern Powers or states of the Baltic.

² Kent, Third Rate; Monk, Salisbury, Plymouth, Deptford, Medway, Sunderland, Romney, Fourth Rates; the Sweepstakes, Fifth Rate, and the Phoenix fireship.

Scilly from 20 to 30 leagues, and to make the said island of Scilly every ten days; and whereas I think it fit for Her Majesty's service (since the fleet of which you are Admiral and Commander-in-Chief is divided on various services both at home and abroad) that you should be employed in the Soundings; I do therefore hereby direct and require that, so soon as the Lord Dursley, Vice-Admiral of the White, shall arrive in the station where you are to take charge of the ships that are with you, you do with Her Majesty's ship the *Russell* (where you now hoist your flag), and such other three ships (as shall then be with you) as you judge most proper, repair into the Soundings, and take under your command the afore-mentioned ships cruising there and such others as shall be appointed by me from time to time to join you.

And in your passage you are to range along the coast of this kingdom as far as Plymouth to free the same of the enemy's privateers, and to protect the trade of Her Majesty's subjects. And when you come off of the said port of Plymouth, you are to send your orders thither for such of the afore-mentioned ships to come out to you as shall be there, taking those with you (if any) into the cruising station of the others as shall be ready to sail, and leaving orders for the rest (which shall not be in a sailing condition) to follow you.

You are with the ships under your command to cruise till further order, or so long as your provisions and water will last, either in the station aforesaid, or in such other station or stations as you shall judge most proper for protecting the trade of Her Majesty's subjects and that of her allies from the enemy's ships of war and privateers, which you are to use your utmost endeavours to

take, sink, burn, or otherwise destroy. And if you meet with any of our homeward-bound merchant ships, you are to take the necessary care for their being seen into some safe port by some of the ships under your command, in case you shall not judge the convoy they have with them of sufficient strength to protect them. And since the advices received from France give an account that the enemy do not think of cruising with less than nine ships, and probably more, you are therefore to use your best endeavours not to cruise but with a proportionable strength.

You are to give frequent accounts of your proceedings to my secretary for my information, and from time to time to inform him of the station you shall appoint to cruise in, that so I may the better know how to dispatch orders to you, when Her Majesty's service shall render it necessary. And once in every twelve or fourteen days you are to send a frigate into Plymouth, with orders to her commander to return to you without loss of time with such packets as may be lodged for you there, and that if he finds not any, he makes no longer stay than shall be absolutely necessary. Given under my hand, this 4th of July, 1709.

PEMBROKE.

To Sir John Leake, &c.

According to these Instructions Sir John appointed the Lord Dursley with a squadron of ten sail to remain upon that station, and himself in the Russell, with the Newark, Burford and Montagu parted from them the said night about ten o'clock, making sail to the westward, having been thirty-one days upon his station on the coast of Flanders from Dunkirk to Schouwen, the very worst and most dangerous station in the British

Channel for great ships by reason of the banks and sands, and rendered still worse by continual bad weather ; being likewise constantly in chase of something or other, and in want of water. All these circumstances, considered together with the nature of the service he was upon, with five or six ships only, very unsuitable to the rank he bore in the navy, could not but give him some disgust, and certainly was one of the most vexatious and fatiguing services he was ever put upon. But he was the more easy under it, as he had been promised from the beginning that the Lord Dursley should be speedily sent to relieve him. But when he had waited above a month for this and his Lordship did arrive upon the station, instead of the relief he expected, he found himself only relieved from one difficulty to another, without any regard to his safety, or the honour of the flag. Indeed there seems to be an apology in the very orders for doing so, by urging the necessity of it, namely, that the fleet of which he was Admiral and Commander-in-Chief was divided on various services, both at home and abroad. But certainly this was the strongest argument why it was not necessary or proper to employ him, since, if there was not a fleet to command, there needed no Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the fleet. For inferior Flags are to command squadrons ; and as he had not during the cruise above four sail of the line and two frigates, and sometimes but one frigate under his command, it was fit only for a captain with a broad pendant. Let us admit some urgent necessity (which there was not) that he should command a cruising squadron in the Soundings as these last orders directed, [yet] it was not to be paralleled that an Admiral of the Fleet should be

sent from the coast of Flanders into the Soundings with four sail only, when it was known (and even the orders suggest) there was a squadron of France at sea treble that number, which probably might intercept him before he reached Plymouth. And in that case, what satisfaction could the Lord High Admiral have made to the nation for so great dishonour to the Admiral Flag of England, and what glory would have accrued to the enemy thereby? It was impossible this could have happened but under the direction of a *land* Admiral; for I will not suggest there was treachery to the nation, or that the most envious malice could have perpetrated the destruction of so brave and good an officer.

After Sir John parted from the Lord Dursley, he met with hard blowing weather. And the 25th at night, he was obliged to anchor about five leagues S. by E. from Calais¹ Cliffs. The next morning he weighed again, plying to windward, but was forced to anchor again, and the ships could not purchase² their anchors any more that day. But the following being the 27th, they got into Dover Road, where he intended to water the ships and then proceed to Plymouth. And by the precaution he had taken some time before, he found a supply of beer and water for the present exigency which enabled him without loss of time to proceed directly to Plymouth, without stopping at Portsmouth. From Dover he wrote to the Secretary to acquaint the Lord High Admiral of what he had done in pursuance of his orders, and of his arrival at that place. But he takes no notice of the danger he was exposed

¹ 'Callis,' author's spelling.

² Raise by mechanical power, i.e., weigh.

to by going to Plymouth with four sail, and the probability of meeting a superior force of the enemy, as those very orders suggest. He does not so much as hint at this. He only observes, with regard to the public service he was going upon, that he hoped, when ships could be spared from other services, to have a reinforcement ; for that he (the Secretary) must be sensible of the several services which he was enjoined by his Instructions to perform, and unforeseen accidents might leave him in little time inferior to the enemy in those seas ; for that when he should get all his squadron together at Plymouth, they would be but thirteen sail of the line, one Fifth Rate and a fireship ; and that since they were not making any preparations at Dunkirk, and that the cornships were expected from the Baltic under care of the Dutch convoy, it was his opinion that five sail might be sufficient to cruise off of Schouwen, or thereabouts. And we may observe upon this that he had seldom above five sail with him upon that station, though the Lord Dursley, an inferior Flag, who relieved him, was appointed ten sail.

Having watered the ships and taken in some provisions at Dover, he left that Road the 29th, not without apprehensions of meeting with the enemy's squadron. With some difficulty he reached Torbay the 5th of August in the evening, where he found Rear-Admiral Baker with six sail of men-of-war, and a fleet of transports for Ireland, and was saluted by the Rear-Admiral with twenty-one guns, which he answered with two less as usual. The next morning he sailed from Torbay, and the 7th arrived safe in Plymouth Sound, and received the usual salute from the citadel of twenty-one guns and seven from each

ship in the harbour. Here he was confirmed that the report of the enemy's squadron had not been groundless; for he found orders from the Lord High Admiral (who, it seems, began to be in some pain for him) acquainting him, that M. Du Casse was at sea with twelve sail; and that M. Duguay-Trouin¹ with fourteen ships was fitting with all expedition at Brest, requiring him therefore to cruise with the squadron in a body, to strengthen Admiral Baker's squadron, and to take care of the Turkey and Lisbon convoy.

To these orders and letters Sir John returned an answer the same day, viz., that he had dispatched a letter to Rear-Admiral Baker to acquaint him that the Newark and Burford should be ready to join him upon giving him notice of his sailing from Torbay, which he presumed might be reinforcement sufficient; but if there was so much to be feared from the enemy (as the advice mentioned) he was doubtful there might be some danger in those two ships returning to him.² He therefore gave it as his opinion [that] they should remain at Cork till he got out with his squadron, and either called himself or sent a ship for them; but if there was not so much haste for Mr. Baker's sailing, and he could stay eight or ten days, he³ might then be in a condition to go with him himself with all the squadron. At present he had only the two afore-mentioned ships remaining with him ready for the sea; and he presumed the Lord High Admiral would not think it very convenient for him to go to sea with

¹ 'Mons. du Gue,' author's spelling.

² Sc. In returning by themselves to Plymouth after forming part of Rear-Admiral Baker's escort through Soundings.

³ Sir John.

three ships with Mr. Baker, and lie in the Soundings till joined by the rest of the squadron. He likewise wrote to Admiral Baker to keep the Restoration with him if she was not sailed from Torbay, and issued orders to Captain Vincent of the Newark with the Berwick¹ to join that Admiral, agreeable to the opinion he had given in his letter to the Secretary.

Nevertheless, some few days after, he received another pressing letter, expressing a great uneasiness for the safety of Rear-Admiral Baker's convoy. This was the 12th instant, and he immediately answered it. 'I wish,' says he, 'there was as little difficulty in meeting the trade from Portugal, as there is to secure Rear-Admiral Baker to Ireland; but however, my Lord High Admiral may be assured I will take the best care I can to comply with his Lordship's commands'; [adding] that if anything hindered his going to sea on Tuesday next, it would be the want of beer. He was also informed by a subsequent letter from the Secretary that the Lancaster, Restoration and August, were ordered to tide it² to Plymouth. Wherefore being in continual expectation of their arrival, and being himself now ready to sail, he sent only the Newark to join the Admiral in Torbay, leaving directions for those three ships at Plymouth, immediately upon their arrival, to do so likewise. And whereas Captain Vincent, by his former orders, was directed to remain at Cork till Sir John should call himself or send a ship to fetch him out; now the Admiral being ready to proceed with his squadron to the appointed station where he would arrive before Admiral

¹ Apparently a misprint for Burford.

² To work into Plymouth when the tide was fair.

Baker was on the coast of Ireland, Captain Vincent was ordered not to go into Cork ; but, as soon as he had seen Mr. Baker off of that place, to take the Lancaster, Restoration and August under his command, and proceed directly to join him at the rendez-vous, from Lat. 47.30 N. to Lat. 50.0 N.

These previous dispositions being made, the 16th in the afternoon Sir John sailed from Plymouth in the Russell, with eleven sail, dispatching an express at the same time to the Lord High Admiral's Secretary to acquaint him of it ; and likewise that, when he returned to that place and his Lordship thought he might be spared from that service, he should be very willing to be relieved.

The 18th, in the afternoon, they spoke with the Queen packet-boat from Lisbon, which place she left the 7th instant, and gave an account that Sir John Jennings was there with six sail, and that in his passage, the 14th, he overtook the Turkey and Lisbon fleet with their convoy, 100 and odd leagues W. by N. from Cape Finisterre steering N.E. Whereupon Sir John altered his course, in hopes to fall in with them. The next day the fleet brought to, being in the appointed station. In the evening they had hard blowing weather, wherein two of the squadron sprang their fore-masts. Whereupon the carpenters of the squadron were sent to assist them ; and, having cased their masts round and completed fishing them, the fleet made sail again. The 22nd, they discovered four sail of large privateers, which they chased from six in the morning till six at night ; and if there had been a moderate gale of wind, must have taken them all, but by rowing and towing they got off. In this chase, Sir John finding the Russell sailed so heavily, that he could not see what was done

ahead in chasing, shifted his flag (the day after) on board the *Kent*, a 70 gun ship, and one of the best sailers.

The same day, about noon, they discovered a sail to windward bearing down upon them, but soon after [she] hauled upon a wind, whereupon the whole squadron chased, and in little more than half an hour, the *Kent* came up with her and took her, being a privateer of St. Malo of 18 guns and 150 men, who had been twelve days from Brest, and reported that M. Du Casse and M. Duguay-Trouin were then there; that there were six sail ready from 50 to 70 guns, and six more to join him at sea, and four privateers, two of 40 and two of 24 guns each, which were the ships the squadron chased the other day, and had certainly taken every ship if they had not wanted wind, they coming up with them whenever they had any. But some of the ship's crew said that twelve ships were careening for M. Du Casse, in order to go to the West Indies, and might be ready in about three weeks, and that Duguay-Trouin would be out with six or seven sail, the latter end of the next month, or beginning of October. Others reported that no ships were fitting out, and that they were in great expectation of peace. So that nothing could be concluded from this various and uncertain intelligence.

Whilst the fleet were upon this station, they spoke with several small convoys, some outward- and others homeward-bound, and were in continual expectation of discovering those with the Turkey and Lisbon trade. Accordingly, the 25th, at five in the morning they saw four sail, when the Admiral made the signal for the whole squadron to chase. Soon after they saw seven sail, and by six o'clock discovered a fleet, which in three hours

joined him, being the Turkey and Lisbon trade, with their respective convoys, making together eleven sail. And soon after he was joined by the Newark and Restoration from Ireland. Upon this junction, the Admiral tacked with his squadron, steering the same course with them for England, in order to see them safely within Scilly. The next day in the evening, observing two sail to leeward astern which he suspected to be French, and [anticipating] that they might alter their course in the night and follow the fleet, he ordered a couple of frigates, as soon as it was dark, to fall astern and watch their designs. They proved to be as the Admiral suspected; and probably would have picked up a merchant ship or two, if it had not been for this seasonable precaution. But finding themselves discovered, they made the best of their way in time, but not without some hazard of being taken.

The 29th, having seen the Turkey and Lisbon trade with their convoys as far as the Lizard, and fairly into the shore, he proceeded to his station into Lat. 49.30 N. and westing 46 leagues from thence; and the wind proving easterly, he ran upon that meridian to Lat. 45.30 N. in hopes to have met with the Nottingham. After that, he cruised between Lat. 46.0 N. and 47.0 N. for the enemy's trade; and the 8th of September took a French ship from Martinique of 16 guns, whose master informed him [that] he came out in company with twelve sail, but that they were separated by bad weather three days before, and that two of them were men-of-war, both rich ships of 50 and 40 guns, but [he] pretended he did not know to what port of France those ships were bound. From thence Sir John went

into his former station, where he intended to cruise as long as his provisions would last, and to lengthen the time, caused the ships to go to¹ short allowance. And the *Newark*, *Russell*, *Monk*, and *Restoration* being very foul and sailing heavily, he was obliged to send them to Plymouth to clean, the bad weather he had met with having likewise injured them and all the rest of the ships in their masts and sails. At night the *August* joined him from Plymouth, having in her way taken a French banker.²

By the *August* he received an order from the Lord High Admiral of the 22nd ultimo for sending a ship to convoy the trade from Milford to Dublin, in pursuance whereof he dispatched the *Sweepstakes* upon that service, and then to make the best of her way to Plymouth. And as the Secretary had intimated that another flag should shortly be ordered to join him, he acquainted him in answer thereto that, if he was to remain longer on that station, there would be no occasion for his being joined by another Flag Officer, it being his humble opinion one was sufficient, unless there was some other service to be performed.

After this, continuing his cruise, a small privateer was taken, and not long after a French man-of-war of 40 guns and 250 men, of whom 30 were killed in the action, with the first and second captain and several officers, besides 50 wounded. Both these prizes he sent into Plymouth under convoy of two men-of-war. The 18th, the *August* was sent to Plymouth

¹ *Sc. On.*

² A vessel employed in the deep-sea cod-fishery on the banks of Newfoundland. Cf. above, vol. i, pp. 101, 102.

to clean and refit; and provisions being now very short, he was obliged himself to follow in a few days after, and arrived with the rest of his squadron at that place (being only five sail) the 24th of September.

Upon his arrival at Plymouth he found some orders from the Lord High Admiral, and letters of advice, which his Lordship had received from Captain Cammock, giving an account that eleven sail of French privateers, seven from 30 to 46 guns and the rest from 24 to 12, were cruising between Dungannon and the island of Lundy, to destroy the trade, and particularly those large wool fleets from Dublin, Waterford and Cork, bound to the Severn; and that the enemy were fitting out at St. Malo three ships of 40 odd guns each, and 17 from 56 to 60 guns at Brest. Which intelligence Captain Cammock affirmed might be depended upon. Therefore Sir John was to consider in what manner the said privateers might be intercepted and the trade protected, but with particular regard to the safety of the rich fleet expected from Barbados; which by another order he was directed to cause a squadron to cruise for in the Soundings, the months of October and November. And [he was informed] that as soon as the Lord Dursley arrived in the Soundings from Portsmouth he might go to London.

To these letters, advices, and orders, Sir John returned an answer the same day; acquainting the Secretary that as to the condition of his squadron and the other ships at Plymouth, the Newark, Russell, August, Romney and Salisbury were cleaning, and he hoped would be ready for the sea in about eight days, and then if the Lord

High Admiral pleased, he would send them to cruise in the Soundings under the command of Captain Vincent of the Newark, to look out for the trade expected from the West Indies, &c. ; and that he would take all possible care to dispatch the cleaning and refitting the rest of the squadron. ' And it's my opinion,' says he, ' that if the ships of the western squadron were cleaned every six weeks, the enemy would soon be weary of sending out privateers to intercept our trade.' Captain Cammock's account of the naval preparations at Brest [he said] seemed to be much the same with that he had from the captain and other officers of the privateers he took at his first going into the Soundings, as he had acquainted them in a former letter ; and if M. Du Casse was bound to the Spanish West Indies, he could hardly believe he would cruise for our trade before he proceeded thither ; and as to M. Duguay-Trouin, if he did come to sea, it was everybody's opinion it would not be with above three or four sail ; but as to the eleven privateers that Captain Cammock said were cruising off of Lundy, he could propose no other expedient for suppressing them, but sending two or three clean frigates, when he had them. But as he knew what number of ships he had with him (which he was sensible, if any of them were otherwise employed, the service in the Soundings must suffer) he therefore rather recommended that two or three frigates (when they could be spared) should be appointed particularly for that service, and rendez-vous and clean at Kinsale.

This letter he dispatched by express that he might the sooner receive the Lord High Admiral's commands in relation to the first freships that should be ready, and the cleaning the rest of the

squadron. And the 29th [he] received an order by express, directing him (as he had proposed) to send the five ships that should be first ready into the Soundings to cruise for the West India Trade (but still with some diffidence and apprehensions of the enemy) *if, by all the advices he had received, he should think them of sufficient strength.* Which was making him answerable for the event; a case, wherein few admirals would care to run the risk, however they might esteem it for the public service. After Sir John had given his opinion and his reasons for that opinion, he should have had a positive or a negative order. But they¹ had been frightened, it seems, by some accounts of a French squadron in the newspapers. And as persons acting in affairs where they are wholly ignorant, consequently act with fear and circumspection, so the Lord High Admiral was willing to leave the judgment of this matter to the Admiral, which was certainly the safest for himself. But as Sir John proceeded with judgment and acted always for the best, he neither feared nor neglected to put in execution any designs for the public service out of regard to his own security, because, possibly, they might not be attended with desired success. Extreme caution in some has prevented many a brave and fortunate enterprise. But however apprehensive the Lord High Admiral was of the danger the ships he proposed to send into the Soundings might be exposed to from a squadron of the enemy, Sir John thought it proper they should proceed on that service. And accordingly, the next day, after he had received his Lordship's indeterminate orders, he sent the following letter to the secretary:—

¹ The Admiralty.

KENT AT PLYMOUTH, *September 30.*

SIR,—This owns the receipt of your letters of the 27th instant and my Lord High Admiral's orders of the 26th and 27th instant by express, and is to acquaint you that the continual bad weather has much retarded the fitting of the ships. And the spring tides not falling out to take them into the dock for these five or six days, [I] have ordered some of them to be careened, that no time may be lost; and the Northumberland being the first, (the Sweepstakes not being here), [I] hope to get her ready to proceed with the five sail mentioned in my former letter. It seems pretty strange, if (according to the accounts given in the prints) 'twas M. Duguay-Trouin that Captain Huntingdon saw, that he should steer a different course from that of the Lancaster. I am therefore apt to believe, if this happened in the latitude of Lat. 49.0 N. or 49.30 N. that the squadron he saw was mine, or Sir John Jennings's, both consisting of the number of ships mentioned. And if the Lancaster was to the westward of us, as the weather was extreme hazy for several days, they might see us, though we could not see them. However I cannot help being of opinion that the afore-mentioned six ships will be of sufficient strength to encounter those that M. Duguay-Trouin may have with him, notwithstanding the terrible account that is given in *The Postboy*¹; and shall therefore send them into Soundings accordingly, unless I receive orders to the contrary; though in all probability my Lord Dursley will be here with the Royal Oak, Winchester, and St. Albans, before they can be got ready. And then [I] do think of leaving the command to his Lordship, and coming to town; having some of my own affairs to dispatch there, which requires my immediate presence.

Soon after this, the ships being in some forwardness, he gave the following instructions to Captain Vincent:—

¹ See above, vol. ii, p. 294, n.

By Sir John Leake, Kt., Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet.

Whereas it has been represented to my Lord High Admiral that eleven of the enemy's privateers, from 12 to 46 guns, are cruising between Dungannon and the island of Lundy to destroy the trade, particularly those large wool fleets from Dublin, Waterford, and Cork, bound to the Severn ; and it being therefore absolutely necessary that endeavours should be used to intercept the said privateers : you are hereby required and directed with the ships under your command (as soon as they shall be ready for the sea) to proceed with all possible diligence, and range over the said station, between Dungannon and Lundy, and there use your best endeavours to intercept, take, and destroy the eleven ships aforementioned.

And whereas the merchants trading to the island of Barbados have represented to my Lord High Admiral that they do expect from thence upwards of 70 sail of ships, under convoy of two frigates only, and several other fleets from the West Indies, valued in the whole at a million sterling ; and that they may arrive by the 15th of this month and will probably fall into Lat. 49.0 N. or 49.30 N. from 15 to 25 leagues from Scilly, where they will part with the trade bound to Bristol ; and whereas the security of the aforesaid trade is of very great consequence to the kingdom : you are (after you have performed the afore-mentioned service between Ireland and the Severn, wherein you are to have especial regard to the time of meeting the West Indies trade) with all your squadron to repair to the station afore-mentioned,

and there keep a good look-out for the aforesaid fleets from Barbados, and the other parts of the West Indies. And on your meeting them, if you shall find (according to the intelligence you shall receive of the enemy) you can spare a ship or two to strengthen their convoy, you are to appoint them to accompany the said convoy as far as Spithead, with directions to their commanders to return to you again from thence with all possible diligence. Otherwise you are to order some of the ships under your command to see them in safety to Plymouth only, to which port you are to order any part of the said fleet to be convoyed, in case you shall meet them separated. But if you shall only meet with one or two of the said ships, you are then to keep them with you for ten days, in expectation of meeting the whole ; that so your squadron may not be weakened by sending any of them in with those single ships until you shall find that there shall be a necessity for it. And you are to give effectual orders to the respective captains of the ships under your command not to impress any of the men belonging to the said merchant ships, that so they may continue their service in them until they arrive at the Buoy of the Nore.

You are to continue on the aforesaid service as long as your provisions will last, and till you shall be joined by the Lord Dursley, Vice-Admiral of the White, and then you are to put yourself under his command, and observe all such orders and directions as you shall from time to time receive from his Lordship.

And whereas M. Duguay-Trouin has been seen at sea with seven sail of the enemy's ships of war, and three of 40 odd guns are fitting out,

or more probably are already at sea from St. Malo : you are to give the necessary directions to the captains of the ships under your command that they be careful not to lose company, lest the squadron by being divided should be exposed to a superior strength of the enemy.

You are to take under your care and protection, when you sail from hence, the packet-boat under the command of Captain Bourne for the West Indies, and convoy him as far into the sea as his and your way shall lie together for her¹ better security. And when it shall be necessary for you to return to this place, you are to send one of the ships under your command to Scilly, with orders to her captain to convoy from thence to this port a prize lately taken by the Revenge Galley privateer, laden with sugar, cocoa and indigo, to a considerable value, and any other trade which may then be there, and bound this way.

And whereas Sir John Duddleston of Bristol has acquainted my Lord High Admiral, that six of their ships were to sail from Virginia by the end of July last, and desired that some of Her Majesty's ships might cruise off of Cape Clear and in Bristol Channel for their protection : you are to provide for their security in the best manner you can, with respect to the time they may be expected, for which this shall be your warrant. Dated on board the Kent at Plymouth, October 2, 1709.

J. LEAKE.

By command of the Admiral,
G. Archdale.

To Captain Vincent, &c.

¹ The packet-boat's.

The extreme bad weather they had had, and which still continued, had very much retarded the refitting of the ships ; though, as Sir John acquainted the Secretary, it was not in his power to make more dispatch than he did, and, that if the bad weather continued, he could not tell when they would be in a condition for the sea. For it had hitherto been impossible for any provisions to be sent from Plymouth, either into Hamoze¹ or the Sound. However some few days after, the weather proving more moderate, they began to send the provisions on board.

In the meantime the Lord Dursley arrived, two days before Captain Vincent was ready to sail. Upon which the foregoing instructions were given to his Lordship for his direction, together with the several advices and orders which had been received, relating to the security of the trade expected from the West Indies and other parts. And Captain Vincent had other orders relating to the cruise under the direction of the Lord Dursley ; pursuant whereto, the 10th instant, he sailed from Plymouth with six sail, three whereof were Third Rates, and three Fourth, and proceeded to the appointed station, where he was joined soon after by my Lord with five sail more.

The same day that Captain Vincent sailed, Sir John set out for London. The corporation of Plymouth having expressed a very great regard to him during his stay at that place, as a grateful acknowledgment of the favours he had done them, they presented him with the freedom of that borough in a silver box. And upon his arrival at London, Her Majesty was pleased to receive him very graciously.

¹ ' Hamoze,' author's spelling.

From what has been said, it appears the service of this campaign was not very agreeable. His cruise upon the coast of Flanders with a few ships ; the orders he received afterwards to proceed with four sail only into the Soundings ; and keeping him upon that station till October, were neither proper services nor suitable commands for the Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the fleet ; especially as no necessity of affairs required him to be thus employed, and there were junior flags and commanders who ought rather to have been employed for these purposes. And when he came to London, he could not help complaining of this treatment, which, with some other instances of mismanagement in the Admiralty affairs, was the reason that the Earl of Pembroke was soon after removed from the post of Lord High Admiral, or at least hastened his removal. Bishop Burnet says that his Lordship entered on that high post with great uneasiness, and a just apprehension of the difficulty of maintaining it well in a time of war. It is therefore difficult to apprehend why he entered upon it at all. For besides that his Lordship was wholly unqualified, he could not act by a council as His Royal Highness had done, for that commission was judged illegal, though out of respect to the Prince their authority was never called in question. But my Lord was to transact the whole himself, a charge too great for the best Admiral to undertake, much more for his Lordship, whose unskilfulness in maritime affairs put him under the necessity of submitting himself to other men's opinions. And indeed all the orders that were given by his Lordship betrayed a great diffidence and want of judgment, and showed that he had not the best advisers. From the impossibility therefore that

his Lordship could make any figure in this post, it should seem that he took this troublesome office upon him after the death of the Prince, only till Her Majesty had considered how to dispose of it in commission, and not with any intention to continue in it. It was however a great honour to his Lordship to succeed the Prince in that high post, and entitled him to a pension of £3000 a year upon his removal, which happened the beginning of November. The 8th of that month Her Majesty was pleased to appoint the Earl of Oxford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Esq. and Paul Methuen, Esq. commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain. And the 12th, Sir John was superseded in his post of Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet, by Matthew Aylmer, Esq.¹

Three days after, the Parliament met, pursuant to their last prorogation. The first thing they did was to assure Her Majesty they would grant speedy and effectual supplies to carry on the war. And these assurances they made good, for they had hardly sat a month before they had granted all that was necessary for the next year's service.

¹ A commission for Admiral of the Fleet is frequently given to others besides the Senior Admiral (as I have before observed in the notes of Chap. I). For which reason the Senior Admiral is usually made Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, and one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty; the first, as being an higher office, gives him the rank above other admirals that may supersede him in the command of the fleet for the time being; and the other is a recompense in lieu of the half-pay of Admiral of the Fleet, which otherwise, being unemployed, he ought to have, but cannot regularly be paid whilst another is at sea as Admiral, nor whilst he has any other employment—*Author's Note.*

But the most difficult and troublesome affair of this session was the impeachment and trial of Dr. Sacheverell, which caused so great a fermentation in the nation. Upon which occasion Sir John was one of those who voted him guilty. And with these proceedings of the Parliament I shall conclude this chapter.

CHAPTER VII¹

Proceedings in the years 1710 and 1711. A new Parliament. An enquiry into the affairs of Spain. Sir John is appointed Admiral of the Fleet the third time, with his proceedings in the Channel, and other matters.

UPON the vigorous proceedings of the Parliament of Great Britain to prosecute the war, the court of France thought fit to make new overtures for peace. This they did the beginning of January, 1709-10 ; and the March and April following, conferences were held at Gertruydenberg, but attended with no better success than they had formerly been ; the French seeming to intend rather to divide and amuse the allies than show any sincere dispositions for peace. These conferences were afterwards renewed again, and continued most part of the summer, but did not hinder the operations of the campaign, which, however, proved very inconsiderable in Flanders as well as by sea. Mr. Aylmer, as I observed above, was appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of the fleet for the service of the year 1710 ; so that Sir John was not employed at sea all this year, but was wholly taken up in the execution of his civil employments, as one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, and as a member of the House of Commons.

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from 15th November, 1709, to 9th July, 1711.

Soon after the rising of the Parliament, (April 5, 1710,) Her Majesty resolved to make some changes in the Ministry, whereupon followed great revolutions of places and employments. Amongst the rest it was rumoured (upon the Earl of Oxford's resigning his place of First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty) that either the Earl of Peterborough or the Earl of Nottingham would be put at the head of that commission. But the Queen having taken some days to consider of her choice, it was at last declared that Her Majesty had appointed Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Doddington, Esq., Paul Methuen, Esq., Sir William Drake, Bart., and John Aislabie, Esq., Lords Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain.

By this appointment Sir John found himself at the head of the Admiralty, contrary to his inclination. For though it had been thought necessary that an Admiral should preside at that board; and, upon the Earl of Oxford's laying down the post of First Commissioner, it naturally devolved upon Sir John as being Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, the Senior Admiral, and second at the Admiralty board; yet those very reasons, which induced the Lord Oxford to lay down [the office] were motives to prevent his taking it, as he was likewise truly sensible how difficult a task it was to discharge that important trust in time of war to the satisfaction of the public, and how invidious and disagreeable it would more especially be at this juncture. He therefore declined to be First Commissioner, as well for the before-mentioned reasons, as because he would not seem to supplant that noble lord. Her Majesty was not a little perplexed

upon that occasion, and not being able to pitch upon any other fit person to succeed his Lordship, that place remained vacant, and Sir John continued the first in the new commission, though not First Commissioner. Some of his friends blamed him for refusing it, since he was saddled by this means with the trouble of First Commissioner, without the honour or advantage of it. But he thought otherwise. For the First Commissioner is always esteemed a ministerial officer. Hence is imputed to him the honour or the blame of everything done at that board, as being done under his administration. Whereas in the present case, though Sir John was the First Acting Commissioner (and as such was chairman and represented a First Commissioner) yet he was but a member only, and as such, nothing more could be imputed to him than to the rest, and he sat in the chair no otherwise than as Second Commissioner in the absence of the First.

In the meantime, viz., May 8, 1710, died Admiral Churchill, Sir John's old friend, a man of great honour and integrity, and [one] who had showed his bravery upon several occasions whilst he was a captain, but particularly at the battle of La Hogue. Afterwards [he] was made a Flag and, in some short time, Admiral of the Fleet, though but little of a seaman; which made him admire the more those qualifications in Sir John Leake. And he often expressed great satisfaction that he had contributed to the promotion of one so eminently serviceable to his country. Upon the death of the Prince he retired from business, being much afflicted with the gout; and though he had great means to acquire wealth, yet all his employments he discharged with such

integrity, that he left a very inconsiderable estate behind him.¹

As Sir John was at home all this year, the transactions at sea do not properly fall under our observation, otherwise than as the dispositions of the fleet for the campaign were concerted and executed at the Admiralty board, where he sat the First Acting Commissioner. I shall therefore go on to the proceedings of the Parliament. The 21st of September, the old Parliament was dissolved by proclamation; and the 26th, Her Majesty in Council ordered another to be published for calling a new one, the writs to bear test the 27th of that month, and be returnable the 25th of November. Upon this occasion, Sir John was chosen for Rochester the second time, and at the appointed day the Parliament met. The first thing they entered upon was (in answer to Her Majesty's speech) to give Her Majesty their assurances that they would effectually and speedily grant the necessary supplies for a vigorous prosecution of the war in all its parts; and this they did with such dispatch that on the 23rd of December the land-tax bill received the royal assent, after which both houses adjourned to the 2nd of January.

It is not to my purpose to enter into all the proceedings of this sessions of Parliament. But the enquiry into the affairs of Spain which took up a considerable part of their time, I cannot pass over without animadversion, as having a near relation to some transactions in the former part of this work. What gave rise to this enquiry

¹ Some discussion of the character of Admiral Churchill, together with his influence on the Navy and on the career of Sir John Leake, will be found in the Introduction under the heading THE CHURCHILL CULT.

was a message the House received from the Queen, February 2, 1710-11, upon an unsuccessful engagement of our land-forces, which happened about that time in Spain.¹ This gave the court lords² a fair opportunity to examine into the management of the war in that country, and at the same time³ (which they had principally in view) an opportunity to give the Duke of Marlborough a side-wind mortification by calling the Earl of Galway to an account,⁴ and passing a compliment on the Earl of Peterborough (a favour the Duke's friends had not been able to procure his Grace⁵ from either house that session). This affair was the more extraordinary ; because in the year 1707 when that Lord's⁶ conduct was examined in the House of Peers and the party then in opposition to the Court in that House (as they had previously resolved) found him blameless, and his Lordship's friends thereupon laboured to have the thanks of the House returned him—yet they could not carry it. For many of those who had determined to acquit him would not however agree to thank him for what he had done, knowing how lately the King of Spain had (with reason) complained of him to the Queen by Count [de] Gallas His Majesty's minister at the Court of Great Britain. His Lordship no doubt was very well satisfied to let an affair, which was liable to an impeachment, pass without a compliment ; much less could he ever think

¹ Stanhope's Capitulation at Brihuega, December 8, 1710.

² Tory peers.

³ See an account of this in Boyer's *Life and Reign of Queen Anne*.—*Author's Note*.

⁴ For the miscarriages that resulted in the battle of Almanza.

⁵ Marlborough.

⁶ Peterborough's.

to have it revived three years afterwards for that purpose.¹ Such a compliment, so out of time, could be very little honour, having been refused in its proper place, and [it] plainly intimated, it was not intended as a real honour to him, but to serve a turn.

The Earl of Peterborough was now upon his departure for Vienna to concert measures at the Imperial Court, for the vigorous prosecution of the war²; but at the Lords' desire his journey was stopped for some few days, that they might make use of such lights and informations as he might give them concerning the affair of Spain. Five questions were put to him, to which he gave distinct answers, containing in the main what was published some time before³ by Dr. Freind in a book entitled, *An Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain*; not without some reflections upon the Earl of Galway and the other generals, which plainly showed the whole contrivance. After this the Lord Galway and the Lord Tyrawley⁴ were examined, and being withdrawn, several peers spoke in favour of the Lord

¹ Sc. Peterborough, conscious that he deserved impeachment, was glad in 1707 to escape a vote of censure. How little he then dreamed that three years later the grounds for censure would be made the occasion for a vote of confidence!

² 'Partly to satisfy that restless spirit and partly to promote a better understanding between the Emperor and the Duke of Savoy.'—Earl Stanhope, *Reign of Queen Anne*, p. 466.

³ 1707.

⁴ General Sir Charles O'Hara, 1640(?)–1724; distinguished himself in the Vigo Bay campaign and at Guadalaxara, after which he was raised to the peerage; second-in-command to Galway and led the left wing at Almanza, where he was wounded.

Galway. And amongst the rest the Duke of Marlborough, with the utmost concern, and even tears in his eyes, said [that] it was somewhat strange that Generals, who had acted to the best of their understandings and had lost their limbs in the service, should be examined like offenders about insignificant things : and he could not imagine the meaning of such proceedings, nor where they would stop.

After a small debate the Lords adjourned ; and the next meeting, having received the Lord Galway's narrative in writing and the Lord Peterborough's recapitulation of his answers, which was all but Court juggle ; some questions were proposed, highly reflecting upon the conduct of the Earl of Galway, Lord Tyrawley, and General Stanhope, in order to be debated in the Committee appointed some few days after. Whereupon the two before-mentioned Lords petitioned for time to put in their answers, before their Lordships came to a determination. But their petitions were rejected. The 12th of January, in a committee of the whole House, the questions were made resolutions, with some others equally reflecting on the conduct of the late ministry ; the Lords of the High Church party, having, by the help of the Scotch, who voted every one of them on that side, carried all questions. The Duke of Buckingham then moved that the Earl of Peterborough have the thanks of the House for his eminent and remarkable services, and that the Lord Keeper return him the thanks of the House immediately. Which being agreed to, the Lord Keeper accordingly returned him the thanks of the Lords for his many eminent and faithful services to his Queen and country during his command in Spain, with fine encomiums upon his truly noble temper,

generosity, bravery, conduct and amazing success, and how impossible it was to enumerate all his services, though he had had as many days allowed him as he had had minutes. 'Tis true, this was resolved to be the sense of the House, by a majority of about twenty ; and numbers must have their weight. But the protest of the Lords not only contradicted all the assertions against the Earl of Galway and the other generals, but declared, that they had not a fair examination to satisfy what they apprehended to be the rule of natural justice ; that the proofs before the House were not sufficient to warrant the facts, and did not support the consequences drawn from the facts.

As to the pretended services of the Earl of Peterborough, we have already shown in many instances in the course of this history that he betrayed the interest of the King of Spain and the common cause ; neither was he esteemed as a general to have judgment to form, or conduct to execute, any considerable action. And wherever any may be called his, it will always be found rash and inconsiderate ; and therefore the success attending it truly miraculous. This man had the particular favour to be screened twice by the House of Lords, from whence he might have justly apprehended exemplary punishment ; and both times to serve the turn of a party : first, in opposition to the Court, and now by Court influence ; and the reputation of three noble gentlemen [was] sacrificed to make way for it, and raise a clamour against the late administration. This was an ill return to the Earl of Galway, for the loss of an eye and an arm, and so many years' faithful services without adding one shilling to that small fortune his parents brought with them out of France ; involving the Lord Tyrawley likewise,

who had certainly acted, as he judged, for the best ; and condemning Mr. Stanhope too, who was a prisoner abroad, absent and unheard : an act very unworthy the first court of judicature in Great Britain, and a great instance of the weakness and insufficiency of human polity ; when so august and numerous a body could be brought, so readily, to give up their faith and honour for such purposes. But add to this the thanks and praises of the House, given to an offender for actions, which had so lately demanded, and hardly escaped, their condemnation. And to colour it by false assertions and base flattery was the greatest offence to the justice of the nation, the greatest affront to the King of Spain who had never received satisfaction for the injuries he had complained of, and the meanest prostitution of the honour of that noble and venerable body that ever was.

I could not avoid saying thus much in justice to the other Generals and Admirals concerned in the Spanish war. Those that would be more particularly informed of his Lordship's conduct may be fully satisfied in a book entitled *An Impartial Inquiry into the management of the War in Spain*¹ (in answer to *An Account of the Earl of Peterborough's Conduct in Spain*). Who was the author of it does not appear ; but he sufficiently justifies the Earl of Galway and the other Generals and Admirals concerned in that war, and shows the Earl of Peterborough to have been the very reverse of what his writer would make him ; that he performed no considerable action and that all the misfortunes that attended the King of Spain, whilst he was abroad, were entirely owing to his Lordship's incapacity, folly

¹ Published 1712.

or treachery ; proving every thing by the incontestable evidence of his own letters, and other original papers, which he declares himself ready to produce. Some of these he had from the executors of Sir Clowdisley Shovell, who freely contributed them to the work, knowing how much that worthy Admiral detested the usage his Lordship had given the King of Spain in the affair of Barcelona, where he was jointly concerned. Others were lent to the author by Sir John Leake, upon application to him, in order to justify the injured gentlemen (particularly the Earl of Galway) who had been so barbarously treated ; which papers I have now in my custody.

All this while, the Commons were no less intent than the Lords on the principal business of this sessions, which, it seems, was to cast an odium on the late ministers. With this view it was that the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed the House that in examinations relating to the Navy, some very considerable abuses were discovered in the victualling, and the same being laid before the House, a member¹ was actually expelled, but was not prosecuted, and continued to serve the Navy as before. For upon a strict examination it appeared the public had suffered no wrong. The same heats and divisions which prevailed in Parliament diffused itself through all orders of men. This, Sir John was very sensible of at the Admiralty Board. And therefore he was desirous to resume his command as Admiral of the Fleet, and leave the civil economy of the Navy to those at the Board, who could act more agreeable to the times. According to his desire, the 26th of

¹ Thomas Ridge, Esq.—*Author's Note.*

January, 1710-11, he was appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet the third time, and upon that occasion, made choice of his brother-in-law, Capt. Stephen Martin, to be his First Captain, in the room of Sir Thomas Hardy, who had been lately made Rear-Admiral of the Blue.

In the meantime new propositions of peace were made by the French King, to cherish and improve the dispositions he found in the new ministry towards peace, and private negotiations were carried on for that end. And the death of the Emperor Joseph, who died at Vienna the 17th of April, N.S., very much promoted it by the project which the ministry formed there-upon for leaving Spain and the West Indies to King Philip; not only because the regaining of them was attended with insuperable difficulties, but also, because, if it *could* be done, it would render the house of Austria too potent, and destroy the very end for which the war was undertaken, viz., to preserve the balance of power in Europe. This design, however, could not presently take effect; and as the Parliament had made such vigorous resolutions for carrying on the war, so no less application was used to carry them into execution. The Admiralty on their part were very assiduous to concert the proper measures for the ensuing campaign; and it was agreed that Sir John, as Admiral of the Fleet, should command a considerable squadron for the home service to secure the narrow seas and protect the trade. This squadron was ordered to be equipped with the utmost expedition, and to assemble in the Downs, consisting of three Second-Rates, nine Third-Rates, sixteen Fourth-Rates, nine Fifth-Rates, and seven Sixth-Rates.

As soon as the squadron appointed for his command was in a forwardness for the sea and part of the ships at the rendez-vous in the Downs, he received his orders, dated the 6th of May, 1711, to the following effect; that whereas the ships as above-mentioned were ordered to rendez-vous in the Downs, he was to take them under his command with any ships the States General might send to join him; and being informed the enemy were fitting out ships at Brest and the ports in West France and others at Dunkirk, he was to endeavour to prevent their junction, or to intercept them if they got out; and also to appoint some ships, when he could spare any, to protect the trade and clear the coast of the enemy's privateers.

Pursuant to these orders, he set out for Deal, and the 8th instant, in the afternoon, arrived there, and hoisted his flag on board the *Warsight*. The next day, he dispatched the *Dover* and *Advice* prize off of Dunkirk, to discover the enemy's preparations in that port. And the following day he had intelligence that seven ships sailed from Dunkirk the 3rd instant, bound for Cadiz, which was confirmed by the ships he had sent thither: with this further advice, that they discovered in the harbour but one ship of 60 guns ready to sail, two others at anchor in Flemish Road of 40 and 50 guns, and several ships unrigged. Upon which he detached the *Ruby* and *Looe* to join the *Centurion* and *Winchester*, that were cruising between Dover and Calais, in order to intercept the said ships, if they should come out of that harbour, or any the enemy's ships that should attempt to proceed to the westward.

The 11th, the *Cumberland*, *Dunwich* and

Newport came into the fleet from the westward with thirty sail of coasters, and the Chichester with five sail of merchant ships from the eastward. The same day, the Admiral issued orders to all the ships to put themselves in a posture for action, and to exercise the men at their great guns and small arms, as often as the weather would permit. The 13th, he shifted his flag from the Warspight on board the Cumberland, a Third Rate of 80 guns, which ship had been fitted for the Admiral by his own appointment to go to sea in that summer's expedition. The following day he delivered out the line of battle, and detached the Dover and Speedwell to cruise between Beachy and the French coast for the space of six days, and then to call at Shoreham and Newhaven for the trade, and convoy them to the Downs. The 15th of May, he received further advice that fifteen sail of privateers from 20 to 36 guns, were fitting out at Dunkirk. In order therefore to prevent their getting out, the same day he ordered Sir Thomas Hardy, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, with ten sail, to proceed off of that place and observe the enemy's motions; but if, notwithstanding that precaution, they should get out, he was then to follow them as long as there should be a prospect of coming up with them; but that if he should, upon the best information he could get, have reason to believe that there was not any number of ships fitting out at that port, he was then to remain upon that station only five days. It was the next day in the afternoon before Sir Thomas could sail to prosecute these orders. In the meantime the signal was made for calling in the cruisers, and the Newport was dispatched to see some trade in safety over the Flats.

The 17th, at midnight, Sir John received an express from the Admiralty with orders and letters of advice, importing that M. Duguay-Trouin's squadron consisted of ten or twelve ships, on board of which were to be put 3000 landmen, which it was believed were designed for the West Indies ; likewise a copy of the examination of Alexander Dalziel, taken the 11th instant, before the two Secretaries of State, viz., that he heard in France [that] the French would make another attempt to land in Scotland this year at the Sound in Mull, which was told him by Father Creighton and Father Linch and one Carrin the letter-carrier between Scotland and Dunkirk ; that a boat from England gave intelligence of the Virginia fleets ; that the French had constant intelligence of the ships in the Downs ; that the Brest and Dunkirk squadrons were to join and were almost ready to sail, only waiting to see how the armies were in Flanders, and proposed to go through St. George's Channel ; that the boat between France and Scotland left their letters at Buchan Ness ; and that the open Deal boats with three men went over constantly to Calais, and gave an account of everything that passed. The orders which accompanied these advices (dated the 16th) were therefore to direct him forthwith (1) to proceed to the Westward with the ships mentioned in a list annexed¹ or such of them as were then

¹ Ships ordered to the Downs, viz., *Triumph* at Spithead, *Neptune* and *Vanguard* at the Nore, *Second-Rates* ; *Cumberland* and *Chichester* in the Downs, *Breda* at the Nore, *Russell* at Spithead, *Berwick* at Portsmouth, *Kent* and *Essex* in the Soundings, *Assurance* at Plymouth, *Third-Rates* ; *Plymouth* in the Soundings, *York*, *Lichfield* and *Medway* at Plymouth, *Romney* at Spithead, *Winchester* and *Centurion*,

in the Downs ; leaving orders for others to follow him which were to come from the Nore ; and to pick up the rest from the western ports as he could meet with them in his passage ; (2) to prevent any designs the enemy might have with their ships fitting out at Brest, and the other ports of West France, and those which were sailed for Dunkirk. He was to proceed for that purpose off of the aforesaid port of Brest, and use his best endeavours to prevent the enemy's ships from getting to sea from thence, or to intercept them if they got out ; and in order thereto, to place himself from time to time in such stations off of Brest, or between that place and the Lizard, as he should judge most proper for answering the aforesaid service, and for protecting the trade. By the same orders he was likewise directed to leave thirteen sail (therein mentioned)¹ in the Downs, to remain there under the command of Sir Thomas Hardy till further order.

The list of ships annexed to the order, which were put immediately under Sir John's command for this expedition, consisted of three Second Rates, eight Third Rates, eight Fourth, five² Fifth, and one Sixth : but of these, two only were then in the Downs, viz., the Cumberland and Chichester. Of the rest four were at Portsmouth, four at Plymouth, four at the Nore and Sheerness, and eight a cruising in the Channel and Soundings, and cruising in the Channel, Hampshire and Mary Galley in the Downs, Fourth-Rates ; Pearl in the Downs, Speedwell cruising off of Beachy, Royal Anne Galley at Sheerness, Sea-Castle cruising, Fifth-Rates ; Squirrel cruising, Sixth-Rate ; and Isabella yacht in the Downs.

¹ Warspight, Canterbury, Advice, Southampton, Deptford, Dover, Ruby, Norwich, Folkestone, Greyhound, Mermaid, Newport, Lizard.

² ? Four.

three with Sir Thomas Hardy off of Dunkirk, making together twenty-five sail, a sufficient squadron, had they been together ; but being dispersed as above-mentioned, it made it impossible for him to comply with his orders immediately, by sailing with such of the squadron as were then in the Downs, which would have been ineffectual for the purpose intended, and risking the hazard of overthrowing the whole design.

A General must therefore mix discretion with that obedience, which, it is said, ought to be implicit in military affairs. Else he will frequently err ; and though he may be justified by strictly following the letter ; yet the intention is principally to be considered, and the different circumstances of things, which those that give orders at home cannot always be apprised of at the time such orders are made. It is highly absurd to imagine an Admiral should be ordered upon this service with such ships as were then in the Downs, supposing there were only two ships there at that time, which was the case. And yet by the list (annexed to the order) of the ships to proceed with him upon that service, which specifies where they were at that time, it appears by their own account they did not know of any more then in the Downs than five, of which three had been sent to Dunkirk with Sir Thomas Hardy. Those three ships Sir John immediately sent orders by the Deal Castle to return to the Downs ; and [he] likewise directed Sir Thomas to return thither with the rest of the ships as soon as he had looked into Dunkirk. In the meantime he made preparations to sail, in hopes some ships would drop in ; and the 20th, was joined by Sir Edward Whitaker with four of the ships which were to form his squadron. And not being able to sail

that day, as he intended, he was joined the next morning by three more from the westward, and one from the Nore; and in the afternoon, Sir Thomas Hardy with his squadron came in, and the three sail he had ordered to join him. And shortly after he was joined by another; so that now having by good fortune got together fourteen sail, he gave out the line of battle, and signals for each day in the week, and the word, '*Queen Anne*,' the other to reply, '*God preserve*'; and the wind favouring him, the 22nd, he weighed from the Downs, leaving Sir Thomas behind him with the rest, pursuant to his orders.

May the 27th, Sir John arrived with his squadron at Plymouth, and the next day had a letter by express from the Secretary of the Admiralty to acquaint him that the enemy's ships which lately sailed from Brest had been put back to that port to refit, recommending it therefore to him to proceed before that place without loss of time. Upon which the next day he left Plymouth, appointing the rendez-vous off of Brest; and if he was not there, after they had looked out for him three days, then [they were] to cruise off of the Lizard five days; and if they did not join him in that time, [they were] to return to Plymouth. Soon after he sailed, and was joined by the Neptune, Vanguard, and the other men-of-war; so that his squadron now consisted of twenty sail.

The 31st, in the evening, the fleet being within two leagues of Ushant, the Admiral detached the Romney and Winchester to look into Brest. Which they did accordingly and returned the next morning, giving an account that they stood in within two miles of St. Matthew's Fort, and not discovering any ships in Brest Water, they sent a

lieutenant in a pinnace to look as near in as possible ; who in the entrance of Brest harbour spoke with a French fishing-boat, that gave an account that M. Duguay-Trouin had been sailed twenty days with fifteen sail fitted out at that port, and six out of La Rochelle, two of which were a fireship and a bomb-ketch ; that there were not then any ships in Brest ; nor would they give any account where that squadron was designed for, but that they had all soldiers on board, and some of them were ships of three decks.

Upon this advice, having called a council of war the same day (the first of June) it was agreed to be more for Her Majesty's service to proceed with the fleet off of the Lizard, and cruise there for the protection of the trade, till Sir John should receive further orders from the Admiralty. These resolutions and intelligence[s] were immediately dispatched express to the Admiralty, and the proper dispositions made upon leaving this station. The rendez-vous was appointed off the Lizard ; but if the fleet was not there [it would be necessary] to send a boat to Falmouth to the postmaster for orders. The Romney was ordered to remain and cruise three days off of Ushant ; and four ships were detached to make sail ahead to cruise off the Lizard, and continue there till joined by the rest of the fleet.

The 3rd of June, the fleet came upon their station off of the Lizard. Three days after, the Lichfield and Pearl were sent to Plymouth to strengthen the convoy to Lisbon, and to bring from thence and the northern ports of Portugal the trade for England. The 9th, by a boat from the postmaster at Falmouth, Sir John received an order from the Admiralty for permitting the King of Prussia's ships to trade to

France, having passports, and likewise a letter from Mr. Secretary Burchett, signifying their Lordships' commands for sending some ships to look into Brest. Whereupon he appointed the York, Kent and Mary Galley to proceed forthwith upon that service. About the same time he had another letter from the Admiralty, giving him an account of a dangerous conspiracy amongst the seamen under his command; and that they had declared, they would not fight the enemy in case they met with them. As this was a matter of the last consequence, he immediately made a strict enquiry into it, and sent the following letter to their Lordships thereupon:—

GENTLEMEN,—I have examined into the matter of your letter of the 30th past, relating to the uneasiness of the seamen, which I find to be in some measure fact. The principal motives to their dissatisfaction (according to the best information I can get) are: their being frequently turned over;¹ the miserable condition they are reduced to (particularly such as have families) for want of pay; and their being not only at short allowance for victuals, but not paid for it in any reasonable time; and that the meat, though full weight before boiled, is not sometimes above half so afterwards. I cannot be persuaded that these, or any other hardships could induce the seamen to refuse fighting the enemy; but this I am certain of, that they are much dissatisfied, and will oftentimes say amongst themselves that they had much better be in the service of an enemy than to be treated as they have been in their native country. It is, however, my opinion that if as often as any of Her Majesty's ships shall go into port, their companies were paid their short-allowance money, whereby they might be enabled to buy themselves refreshments (especially in this season of the year), it would very much contribute to the allaying their present uneasiness.

¹ From ship to ship.

The 12th at night, the Romney joined the fleet, and the next morning the York and Kent, all agreeing in the advice that M. Duguay-Trouin sailed from Brest about a month since with seventeen sail (ten from 76 to 40 guns); that they sailed about Fountain Head, and it was thought were designed for Port Louis¹ or La Rochelle to take in provisions, and that they took in 1000 soldiers: and further, that the boats of the afore-mentioned ships² had been in close with the harbour, and plainly saw there were no ships in Brest Water, except four small privateers fitting (the biggest not above 30 guns) which the enemy's boats likewise confirmed. This intelligence was immediately dispatched to Falmouth by the Romney, in order to be forwarded by express to the Admiralty.

The 14th, the Admiral received orders by the Speedwell to go again off of Brest, the Secretary of State having represented to the Admiralty that they had received intelligence that the squadron which had been fitted out at Brest, was there the first of that month, and were not to sail from thence under eight or ten days. In compliance therefore with these orders he proceeded again to that station, dispatching two ships before off of that harbour to gain further intelligence. And on the 19th he had advice from a French merchant ship taken by a Jersey privateer that he sailed with M. Duguay-Trouin with twenty sail of men-of-war and thirty merchant ships with soldiers on board from Rochefort the 27th past, bound, as 'twas reported, for Brazil. And Captain Scott of the Romney had intelligence from a Dutch privateer (who had taken a French merchant ship) much to

¹ Lorient.

² Romney, York, and Kent.

the same purpose. The same day two small privateers of the enemy were taken and brought into the fleet; and the Admiral dispatched an express to the Admiralty with the foregoing intelligence, accompanied with the following letter to the Secretary:—

SIR,—Herewith you will receive the intelligence I have gained since that [which] I sent by the Hampshire; and I think it's not to be doubted but that the squadron that was at Brest has been sailed from thence some time. But not having seen or heard from the Assurance and Mary Galley (which ships I sent to look into that port) since this day sennight, I conclude that they have either missed me in the thick weather, which we have had some days; or that they are kept in the Bay by these westerly winds, which has¹ made a great sea; so that if they do not join me by Thursday next, and I receive no orders to the contrary, [I] do intend to leave this coast, and wait for their Lordships' commands off of the Lizard, or at Plymouth, whither the want of beer and water will oblige me to go in a few days.

J. LEAKE.

The fleet continued cruising off of Ushant till the 26th, when the Squirrel arrived, bringing Sir John orders from the Admiralty, acquainting him that the squadron of the enemy's ships fitted out some time since at Brest, by the last advices from France, were either at Belle Isle, in St Martin's Road,² or in the Road of Rochefort³; directing him therefore to proceed thither in quest of them. Upon this occasion a council of war was held the next morning to consider of the said orders and also of the state of the fleet as to provisions and water; and it appeared there was but twelve days' beer, and sixteen days' water, (and of the latter, for boiling the

¹ Sic.

² Ile de Rhé.

³ Basque Roads.

men's provisions only, after the same was equally proportioned) provided¹ the casks were full, and all the beer wholesome. It was therefore unanimously the opinion of the council of war that the Admiral could not undertake that service without exposing the fleet to the greatest extremities imaginable, as believing² he could not proceed to the said places, and return (with a favourable wind and good weather) under twenty days.

They therefore resolved to leave five ships to cruise in the Soundings twenty days for the protection of the trade, and to repair with the rest to Plymouth. This resolution was presently dispatched to England, by the Plymouth to be forwarded to the Admiralty by express. The fleet followed soon after, and the 28th, arrived in Plymouth Sound. The 3rd of July, Sir John received a letter from Mr. Secretary Burchett, signifying their Lordships' approbation for his leaving the command of the fleet, and coming to town. For this purpose he appointed Sir Edward Whitaker, Vice-Admiral of the White, with six sail to cruise between Lat. 50.0 N. and Lat. 47.0 N. sixty leagues west from the Lizard for the protection of the trade; and to continue as long on that service as his provisions would last. Two other ships he ordered to convoy the trade to Spithead. And having made the other necessary dispositions before he left that place, the 9th of July, he struck his flag and went for London.

I should here end my account of transactions at sea this campaign, were it not for Sir Hovenden Walker's unfortunate expedition to Quebec;

¹ Always supposing that . . .

² The general belief being that . . .

which, happening whilst Sir John presided at the Admiralty Board, may be imputed to him and the rest of the gentlemen at that time in the commission, as if the design, or the means, had not been properly concerted by them. Whereas in truth it was quite otherwise, and the nation would certainly have avoided that misfortune at least, if it had been previously considered at that Board, as it ought to have been. It was carried on with such unexampled secrecy ; that, as Mr. Burchett tells us,¹ the then Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty were so far from being consulted in it that the design on which this fleet was bound was rather industriously hid from them ; and that a certain person² seemed to value himself very much that a design of this nature *was* kept a secret from the Admiralty.

The project was first formed by Colonel Nicholson,³ and settled in concert with the

¹ *Naval Transactions*, p. 778. Burchett devotes the whole of Chapter xxxii of his Fifth Book to a narrative of the undertaking and a discussion of certain points arising out of it.

² The person hinted at is probably Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.

³ In the summer of 1710 the ministry resolved to undertake the conquest of Nova Scotia. A naval force under Commodore George Martin left Spithead in May with a convoy and transports having on board a regiment of marines. Colonel Francis Nicholson accompanied them and raised five colonial regiments in New England, where the object of the expedition was regarded with high favour. The operations that followed were attended by complete success. Martin and Nicholson co-operated in the most loyal and generous manner ; and in October the governor of Annapolis surrendered, and the entire French colony changed hands.

Colonel Nicholson thereupon returned to England and advocated a more ambitious transatlantic programme for the following year.

ministers. If it had succeeded, it would, no doubt, have greatly increased our naval strength, and given a fatal blow to that of France ; the Canada and Newfoundland trade being esteemed the best nursery of seamen that kingdom has on the ocean. But the design was ill concerted and worse executed. It was settled by statesmen instead of Admirals, and kept a secret from the only persons that should have been privy to it. It is judged from many circumstances that Sir Hovenden himself was not previously let into the secret, and probably, if he had, he would not have been forward to have engaged in it. Neither would the Admiralty have thought him the fittest person to have undertaken it (if they had been for it¹ at all without much better information than they had) it being known he was not a very expert seamen.² Mr. Boyer

¹ Supported it.

² The attack on the heart of French America was planned in New England. At home, the ministry (who could only raise the requisite army by weakening Marlborough's hand) knew that the enterprise would for that very reason raise a storm of indignation throughout the country. They therefore concealed their intentions with the utmost care, not even allowing the Admiralty to share their secret.

The expedition, although jeopardised by hasty preparations, was not altogether unworthy of the goal to be attempted. In addition to ten sail of the line and auxiliary vessels, there were thirty-one transports bearing more than five thousand troops under General John Hill, brother of Abigail Masham. However, the difficulties of the navigation of the St. Lawrence had not been allowed for ; and after eight transports and nearly a thousand troops had been lost, Sir Hovenden Walker abandoned the enterprise (August, 1711). On his return to England the accidental destruction of his flagship at Spithead accentuated his unpopularity ; and the loss of all his papers, which perished with the Edgar, robbed him of the means of defending his conduct.

This was not formally called in question until the accession

says it was executed with less diligence and forecast than the nature of so important a service required; and Mr. Burchett, that it was an expedition very chargeable to the nation, and from which no advantage could reasonably be expected, considering how unadvisedly it was set on foot by those who nursed it up upon false suggestions and representations.¹

To conclude the naval transactions of this year. As a British squadron protected the trade in the

of George I, when the Admiral was with scant justice deprived of his half-pay and had his name struck off the flag list. Sir John Laughton suspects that there may have been a taint of Jacobitism: but of this there is no proof. Certainly Sir Hovenden attributed his ruin to the fiasco in the St. Lawrence, and in 1720 published an apologia entitled *A Journal or Full Account of the late expedition to Canada*. The 'exact Mr. Lediard,' in speaking of the matter, gives an unusual display of human sympathy; 'The case of the Admiral . . . was very hard. I never heard or could find that anything was laid to his charge as contributing to the misfortune, or the least blame laid on his conduct. And yet after the mis-carriage many loud invidious clamours were raised in general, without descending to particulars, against him. He had the misfortune to mar the displeasure of somebody and not only was . . . struck out of the List of Admirals but out of the Half-Pay List too. There may have been some circumstances unknown to me that may have occasioned his disgrace. But upon a view of what has come to my knowledge, I have not been able to forbear thinking him hardly used, especially since (if I mistake not in the year 1725) I had an opportunity of being acquainted with him in Hamburg and Hanover, and found him a gentleman of letters, good understanding, ready wit, and agreeable conversation; and withal the most abstemious man living, for I never saw or heard that he drank anything but water or ate anything but vegetables.' —*Naval History*, vol. ii, p. 855, footnote.

The memoir of the Admiral in Charnock's *Biographia Navalis* (ii, 455) is not to be trusted.

¹ *Naval Transactions*, p. 781; Burchett says 'so chargeable,' not 'very chargeable.'

Mediterranean, that ¹ under Sir John did the like in the Channel and Soundings, so that the French durst not show themselves abroad the whole campaign. All they did this summer was to send a squadron to America, which burnt two Portuguese men-of-war, and took the town of S. Sebastião. But though the loss of the Portuguese was very considerable, it's certain the gain to the French fell very short of the charge of the expedition. They had indeed some reason to applaud their own conduct in that expedition in opposition to our attempt at Quebec. But upon the whole, there was not a campaign during the war wherein the French made so inconsiderable a figure at sea, and we remained so completely masters of it. This, no doubt, was the principal motive to induce the haughty French monarch to sue for peace more earnestly than he had yet done. For however he might have been able to linger out the war by land, he was not able to oppose us by sea, his navy being either destroyed, or in such a condition as not to be repaired or renewed. And consequently, had not a peace put a stop to our naval glory, all the French colonies must have submitted to us.

¹ The squadron.

CHAPTER VIII ¹

Further transactions in the year 1711, and in the years 1711 and 1713. A cessation of arms. Sir John is appointed Admiral of the Fleet the fourth time, and takes possession of Dunkirk. The peace concluded, &c.

SIR John having left the command of the fleet at Plymouth the beginning of July (as was mentioned in the close of the preceding chapter) went no more to sea that campaign ; so that his transactions during the remaining part of the year 1711, were entirely of a civil nature. I observed likewise that the heats and divisions, which prevailed in Parliament upon the alteration of the ministry in 1710, diffused itself through all ranks and degrees especially amongst those in public stations, which made it impossible for a man of integrity to act without great difficulty and uneasiness ; and that Sir John was sensible of this, even at the Admiralty Board, where being the First Acting Commissioner he had the greatest burthen, if not the weight of the whole upon him. This made him desirous the first opportunity to resume his command at sea as Admiral, and to leave the civil economy of the navy to the rest of the Lords Commissioners, who could act more agreeably to the times.

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from July 1711 to July 1713.

Accordingly he made a campaign at sea, in the Channel and Soundings with a few ships ; an expedition not very eligible, but preferable, as affairs then stood at home.

He hoped, by the time he returned to the Admiralty Board, Her Majesty would have made choice of some person to have filled the vacancy of First Lord Commissioner, and he would willingly have acted in the second station. But finding affairs in as bad a situation or rather worse, he declined the business of the Admiralty Board as much as possible. By this means the place of chairman at the Board devolved upon Sir George Byng, who being an artful, designing man, and well qualified to fish in troubled waters, improved every circumstance to his own advantage. Not long after, he¹ applied himself to the ministers, desiring that a First Commissioner might be appointed at the Admiralty Board, or that he might resign his place there and be put upon the establishment of half pay as Admiral of the Fleet. To which it was replied they would acquaint Her Majesty with his desire, and know her pleasure.

But in the meantime they used arguments to persuade him rather to take upon him the place of First Commissioner of the Board, as what the Queen expected from him. And the Duke of Buckingham, Lord President of the Council, proposed to him that he should be created a peer for that purpose, as his eminent services well deserved. But he told the Duke that he had not a fortune suitable to that dignity ; that if he had a fortune sufficient, he was unhappy in a son from whom he had no expectation

¹ Sir John Leake.

of issue ; and that for himself, he had no ambition of any further honour than Her Majesty had already conferred upon him. And as to the post of First Commissioner of the Admiralty, he absolutely refused it, and desired to remain only in his station as Admiral.

This being reported to the Queen, she ordered him to be sent for, told him that she was entirely satisfied with his conduct, and desired he would continue to do his duty at that board, as he had hitherto done, till she appointed a First Commissioner, which she promised to do very soon. After this, there could be no room for further complaint. He was only blamed by his friends for not embracing this favourable opportunity to put himself above the frowns of fortune. He was certainly very much in favour with Her Majesty at that time, and he might have satisfied his utmost wishes. To refuse all this was an instance of great moderation and virtue. Such examples are very rare. It is a rigid kind of virtue, that none but the bravest and best men are capable of, and the example will rather be admired than imitated.

In the meantime the private negotiations for peace between the Court of France and the British ministers so far advanced, that the 27th of September, 1711, preliminary articles were signed, and published the 13th of October following, which very much surprised the generality of people, and even some of the friends of the ministry. Whilst this was doing, the Parliament was prorogued from the 21st of August to the 9th of October, and afterwards to the 13th of November ; on which day, being wet, they were farther prorogued to the 27th of the same month. The city of Utrecht was pitched

upon for the Congress, and the conferences [were timed] to begin the 1st of January, O.S. And as the Duke of Marlborough had the chief management in former negotiations, which in the opinion of many was the chief cause of their proving abortive; now a minister of the Gospel of Peace was employed, namely, the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Privy Seal.

After this, the Parliament was further prorogued to the 7th of December, which being so late in the year, made it conjectured it would still be further prorogued till the peace was concluded. But others ascribed it to a discovery of a late coalition of some eminent peers of the High Church Party with those of the contrary side¹ against a peace on the foot² of the proposals made by France. But however that was, the peace went on and the 29th of January, 1711-12, the first congress was opened at Utrecht. And the 11th of February following, N.S., a specific explanation of the offers of France was delivered in writing; but in such a strain that if the French had gained as many victories as the allies had done over them for ten years past, they could hardly have offered more extravagant demands. The 4th of March, the allies delivered their specific demands, which were likewise exclaimed against, as unreasonable and exorbitant.

¹ The Whigs, who were determined to regain office at any price, saw their chance of victory in the upper chamber. Here the government preponderance was not remarkable; and a small band of Tories, if detached from their leader, might very well turn the scale. They therefore applied themselves to the neglected (and consequently disaffected) Nottingham, whose favourite measure, the 'Occasional Conformity Bill,' should have been repellent to their ideas of toleration.

² Footing.

In fine, many fruitless conferences were held ; the French plenipotentiaries refusing to deliver their specific answer in writing, pretending they were not fully instructed on that subject ; for they knew the business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a negotiation carried on directly between London and Versailles. And accordingly a plan of a general peace was shortly after proposed by the French, and accepted by the British Ministers.

Whilst these negotiations were carrying on, the campaign was opened by the allies in Flanders ; the circumstances whereof are not to my purpose to relate, only to observe¹ that the Duke of Ormonde, who commanded the confederate army, having positive orders not to fight, refused to engage the enemy, or to act offensively ; and shortly after his Grace declared his orders about a cessation of arms. Whereupon the generals of the foreign troops in the Queen's pay refused any longer to obey his orders, alleging that neither the Grand Alliance, nor the particular conventions, admitted of any parties treating of a making peace, or even a suspension of arms, without the consent of the others. The 16th of July, Prince Eugene marched off, being followed by the auxiliaries in British pay. The Duke of Ormonde decamped the same day ; and the following day, in his march, ordered a cessation of arms for two months, to be declared between the Queen's forces and those of France. And the like suspension of arms was declared in the French camp. In the meantime, viz., the 6th of June, the Queen made a speech to both houses of Parliament, containing a plan

¹ Beyond observing.

of the ensuing peace, and received from both an address of thanks. The 21st following, Her Majesty made another speech in Parliament; and [the Houses] passed several bills, when they were adjourned to the 8th of July and then prorogued. Which put an end to that session.

As the French King had agreed to several previous articles demanded by the Queen as a foundation for a suspension of arms, and amongst other, the giving up immediately into our possession the town of Dunkirk, a fleet was appointed to assemble in the Downs, in order to be ready to proceed with the troops upon that service; and Sir John Leake was appointed Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet the fourth time, by commission dated the 3rd of April, 1712. These previous articles were not however so soon complied with as was expected, it being the 25th of June, N.S., before a copy of them signed by the Marquis de Torcy was transmitted to the Duke of Ormonde, and then not entirely as the Queen had demanded. But the ministers did not boggle at small matters, especially as the cessation of arms was not to take place till Dunkirk was actually in our possession. As soon therefore as the articles arrived, Sir John received orders to proceed to the Downs, to take upon him the command of the fleet there. In his way thither he was received with great marks of esteem and respect by the corporation of the city of Rochester, who expressed great satisfaction at the service he was going upon, which he could however hardly persuade them would be performed on the part of France. Nor was this opinion singular to them, but did generally prevail amongst the wiser and more discerning part of the nation.

By his orders dated the 27th of June, 1712, he was directed to take upon him the command of twenty sail of ships appointed to rendez-vous in the Downs, and to keep them in a constant readiness to proceed upon service, according to such orders as he should receive for that purpose. And whereas several of the enemy's privateers did frequently appear upon the coast of Kent and Sussex and very much interrupt the trade of Her Majesty's subjects, he was, when he could conveniently spare any ships, to appoint some to cruise upon the said coast or elsewhere, as he should judge most proper for protecting the trade and annoying the enemy's ships, so [long] as they might be within reach when he should think he had occasion for them. But there was no mention of Dunkirk, though it was generally known what expedition they were intended for.

Accompanying these orders was a warrant to hold courts martial, and they were followed soon after by another order of the 28th, in pursuance of Her Majesty's pleasure signified to the Admiralty Board by the Earl of Dartmouth, directing him to follow such orders as he should receive from Her Majesty by one of the principal Secretaries of State.¹ Previous to this, the land forces designed to accompany the fleet to Dunkirk had been ordered to march towards the sea-coast of Kent, consisting of a battalion of the Scotch Guards, about 600 men detached from several regiments of marines, and the regiments of Hill, Desaulney, and Kane, under the command of

¹ Sir John was to give effect to the dictates of the ministry which would in case of urgency be sent to him (as were those of Sir Hovenden Walker) behind the backs of the Admiralty Board.

Brigadier-General Hill. Of this Sir John was acquainted by a letter from Mr. Lynn by order of Mr. Secretary St. John, dated June 26, and¹ that they were then actually upon their march. 'The said battalion,' says he, 'will be put under your orders in reference to their embarkation at such time and place as you shall appoint, and the commanding officer thereof directed to obey you accordingly.' In the meantime Sir James Abercrombie and Colonel King were sent to Dunkirk, to regulate matters with Count de l'Aumont the French Governor, that there might be no difficulties remaining when the fleet and land-forces should arrive.

Sir John arrived at Deal the 28th of June in the morning and immediately went off and hoisted his flag on board the Bedford, a Third Rate of 80 guns. Upon which occasion he was saluted by all the forts and castles on the coast, as well as by all the ships in the Downs. The same day he ordered pilots to be provided for each ship, such as were best acquainted with the coast of Flanders; and gave directions to the Agent Victualler to complete the provisions of all the ships to three months, and to supply them with more as that was expended, that the same quantity might be constantly kept up, that no delay might happen upon that account. But there being not a quantity of beer in proportion to the other species of provision, he ordered him to buy up as much as he could procure from the brewers at Deal; and took care to acquaint the Admiralty with the deficiency, which he desired might be supplied from London with the

¹ As also.

greatest dispatch. In relation to that part of his orders for appointing cruisers to guard the coast of Sussex, he found there were already two ships upon that service, which he therefore thought proper to continue there. He likewise ordered the Scotch Guards to march from Sandwich and Deal, in order to be embarked on board the men-of-war. The next day they were embarked, and the like orders were sent express to the marines of the Lord Shannon's and Brigadier Wills's regiment at Canterbury and Rochester, whilst in the meantime preparations were made to receive them on board the fleet.

The 2nd of July, the Admiral gave out the line of battle, consisting of sixteen sail with a Vice-Admiral, together with the proper signals. And [he] delivered to every captain the rendezvous sealed up, and not to be opened but in case of separation, and to be returned when it should be called for. The same day the Pearl sailed, pursuant to her orders to proceed to Yarmouth, to convoy the trade from thence to Holland. In the meantime Sir John dispatched an express to the Secretary of State to acquaint him of his proceedings, and likewise to desire Instructions for his direction in the present expedition. For though he had now prepared everything for that purpose, he had not received any orders in relation to it; and proposed to proceed with the fleet to Margate, in order to meet the yachts and transports which were coming from the Nore with the rest of the land-forces that were to proceed with him. In answer to this, he received a letter from Mr. Secretary St. John, acquainting him that Her Majesty had given orders to the Lords of the Admiralty to prepare and send him such

Instructions as were necessary for his conduct in the present expedition ; which he received the 3rd of July as follows :—

By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, &c.

In pursuance of Her Majesty's pleasure, signified to this board by Mr. Secretary St. John in his letter of yesterday, you are hereby required and directed, as soon as Mr. Hill has joined you, to concert with him the most convenient distribution of the several regiments on board the ships and vessels under your command ; and, upon his application to you therein, to furnish such beer and other provisions and stores, as you can spare for the use and better subsistence of the soldiers, as well during their continuance with you, as in their passage to Dunkirk.

And, whereas we are informed that you have proposed, when the marines are aboard, to go to Margate Road to meet the yachts and transports : you are hereby required and directed to do the same, or continue in the Downs with the ships under your command, according as wind and weather shall present, and as you shall judge best for dispatch of the service in proceeding to Dunkirk, which you are to do without any loss of time, when the troops shall be aboard.

And Sir James Abercrombie and Colonel King having received directions that, as soon as the Governor of that place should be ready to evacuate the same and all things necessary for the reception of the Queen's troops there should be prepared, one of them do instantly make the best of his way to join the fleet under your command in order to inform you and the Commander-in-Chief of the land-forces of the State of all matters relating to

this service on the part of France ; you are upon the report which this officer shall make to concert with Mr. Hill the disposition for landing the troops, and to take all measures necessary for executing Her Majesty's commands with the greatest dispatch, and in the best order ; the other of the officers before-mentioned being directed, upon your arrival before the port of Dunkirk, to attend you and acquaint you with what he shall have done, in pursuance of the directions he has received, and to give you a more perfect account of the scheme which shall have been settled there for landing the troops, and for their taking possession of the place.

After the land-forces are disembarked, you are to continue as near the port of Dunkirk as you safely and conveniently can, until the Queen's troops shall be in actual possession of all which France has agreed to surrender to them ; and until you have furnished such stores and other necessaries, as Mr. Hill may find that Her Majesty's service requires, and as you can spare.

And you are, by some small frigates, to send frequent accounts of your proceedings to this board, and to one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. Given under our hands this 2nd of July.

G. Byng.

William Drake.

J. Aislabie.

Geo. Clarke.

By command of their Lordships, in the absence of the Secretary,

J. Fowler.

To Sir John Leake, Knight, Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, and Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet.

[In the] Downs.

The day after the receipt of this order another came by express from the Admiralty, directing him not to sail till he should receive Her Majesty's orders for so doing, which were suspended till the arrival of an express from Dunkirk, by Colonel King. In the meantime a quantity of beer having been sent from London to supply the deficiency before-mentioned, the same was distributed amongst the ships which served to complete the victualling of the fleet to six weeks at least. Sir John had been under some uneasiness upon this account, as also having been hindered by the continual blowing weather from taking the provisions on board. And in his letter to the Admiralty upon this occasion, he says [that] he should now go to sea better stored than he had believed time or the weather would have permitted.

The next day, being the 5th, in the morning, Colonel King arrived from Dunkirk, and going on board the Admiral, gave an account that all the dispositions were made at that place for the reception of Her Majesty's forces. Upon which he immediately dispatched an express to the Admiralty and Secretary of State, and to acquaint them that the yachts and transports had joined him that day, and that he was in immediate readiness to sail, as soon as Mr. Hill arrived and he should receive Her Majesty's orders for so doing. At the same time he made the signal to unmoor, and appointed the following dispositions for disembarking the troops, and going into Dunkirk by signals, viz.,

(1) When the Admiral hoisted a flag, striped red white and blue, at his mizzen peak, and fired a gun, all the men-of-war were to send their marines ashore to such place, and in such manner

as Sir Edward Whitaker, Vice-Admiral of the White, should direct.

(2) As soon as the fleet were on the coast of Flanders, the six men-of-war that had the battalion of Guards on board were to hoist each of them a pendant at their mizzen-peak, as a signal to the yachts, who was¹ thereupon to come as near to them as possible, in order to receive on board each one hundred men.

(3) And when the Admiral hoisted a yellow flag at his mizzen topmast-head, and fired a gun, the Guards were to be removed from the ships on board the yachts.

(4) When the Admiral hoisted a blue flag at his fore top-gallant mast-head, and fired a gun, six sail particularly appointed, together with the yachts and transports, were to proceed in company with such ship or yacht, as Sir Edward Whitaker should hoist his flag on board of, and follow his orders.

(5) And the same blue flag being hoisted at the fore topmast-head, and a gun fired, Sir Edward Whitaker was to proceed with the said ships yachts and transports under his command and land the forces where General Hill should desire.

(6) And in doing this,² particular directions were given to all the sea-officers, that they should neither go ashore themselves, nor suffer any of the boats' crews to do so.

As the ministers were very desirous to secure this earnest of a peace, no time was lost in returning an answer. For the same night the express arrived at London, another was dispatched with the following letter from Mr. Secretary St. John, and the points agreed upon, in relation to the signals on either side upon the appearance of the

¹ *Sic.*

² Disembarking the troops.

fleet off of Dunkirk, together with Her Majesty's Instructions. All which were as follows:—

WHITEHALL, *July 5, 1712*; 12 at night.

(A) SIR,—Colonel Kane brings you this. He is sent away as soon almost as we receive the express from Colonel King, to take care that Mr. Hill, who will be with you to-morrow night, may on his arrival at Deal or Margate, have nothing to do but to go on board. Your assistance to him will not be wanting, I'm sure, nor anything else which is in your power to advance a service of so much honour, as well as real advantage to our Queen and country.

Enclosed you will find a translation of the points agreed upon between the French officers and those sent by Her Majesty for your part of this expedition, though I suppose Mr. King may have already given you the same communication. I transmit likewise to you a secret Instruction, which the Queen has thought fit to sign, and which it is her intention should be punctually observed.

I need not tell you how desirous Her Majesty is that this whole affair, which has been transacted hitherto upon honour between the French and us, should be finished with the best Grace on the Queen's part. I most heartily congratulate with you your good success; and am,

Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

H. St. JOHN.

(B) The enclosed paper of the points agreed upon was as follows:—

Whereas the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk are to be evacuated by the troops of His Most Christian Majesty, and put into the hands

of Her Britannic Majesty, who is to send troops from Great Britain to take possession thereof, the following points have been agreed on, to the end that the evacuation may be made by the French troops, and the landing of the British troops, and their entry into the town, citadel, and forts of Dunkirk, may be performed without any confusion.

(1) When the English Admiral shall appear before Dunkirk, he shall hoist a red flag on the top of the mizzen-mast, and fire three guns. Immediately the Fort de Bonne Esperance, which is at the end of the Western Mole, shall hang out a white flag and answer by firing three guns, which shall be the signal of knowing one another.

(2) In case the Admiral shall think fit not to come so near to Dunkirk, as that the signal may be easily distinguished, he shall then send in a frigate, who shall make the same signal, which the said fort will answer.

(3) As soon as the said signal shall have been made, as many pilots as possible or as may be thought necessary shall be sent to bring the transports, and other vessels for landing the forces into the Road, and upon the Moles.

(4) The British troops are to be landed at the great stairs, beyond the barrier of the gate of the haven.

(C) *Instructions for our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Leake, Kt., our Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, and our Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of our fleet. Given at our Court at Kensington, the 3rd day of July, 1712, in the 11th year of our reign.*

Anne R.

The most Christian King having consented to put the town and citadel of Dunkirk, and

the forts thereunto belonging, into our hands, in order to establish a suspension of arms in the Netherlands, and to prepare the way for a general cessation ; we have thought it reasonable, and do therefore charge and require you, whom we have appointed to command the squadron of our ships to be employed in this service, not to commit, or suffer to be committed any hostility on the enemy, whilst you are actually executing these our orders.

A. R.

Upon the receipt of these Instructions and orders, Sir John immediately made preparations for sailing. And expecting the arrival of General Hill every moment, about eight at night he weighed from the Downs, that Mr. Hill, according to the Secretary's desire, might, on his arrival, have nothing to do but to go on board. The Success he appointed to remain in the Downs for any orders that might be sent from Her Majesty or the Admiralty to him, and to follow him therewith to the place of rendez-vous ; and there being about 100 marines not yet arrived, the Dunkirk was left to bring them after the fleet.

About half an hour past nine the fleet came to anchor again off of the South Foreland, and the next morning early, being the 7th, Colonel King came on board the Admiral, with a letter from Brigadier Hill (who was just arrived at Deal) enclosing another from the Secretary of State signifying Her Majesty's pleasure that not only the 600 marines should be detained on shore at Dunkirk, but likewise, that he should reinforce them with as many more as he could possibly spare out of the men-of-war's complements, in consideration of the hard duty which

so small a body of troops must be exposed to in so large a town with so many forts. And the General in his letter having represented that if Colonel King was dispatched before, it might be a means to make their landing more expeditious, a frigate was ordered to proceed directly with him to Dunkirk, and to follow his directions till he rejoined the fleet.

About seven o'clock, the whole fleet being united sailed from the South Foreland, consisting of about eighteen sail of men-of-war, six yachts, and nine transports. The same day, about two o'clock in the afternoon, they anchored in Flemish Road, within two leagues of Dunkirk, as near as our pilots would take charge of the ships; and the appointed signal, being made, was answered from the town. About six in the evening, the French pilots, who were to conduct the yachts and transports into the harbour, came on board the fleet; whereupon, the dispositions which had been made for landing the troops were put in execution, and the Guards and marines, being put on board the yachts, went in with the transports nearer to the town, in order to be landed the next morning as soon as the tide would permit; which was accordingly done at eleven o'clock, and by twelve most of the troops were disembarked.

Whilst this was doing, the pilots returned to bring the men-of-war nearer to the town, they having no pilots before. And about half an hour past twelve they all came to an anchor in Flemish Road. At three in the afternoon, the guards of the citadel, Fort Louis, and the Risbank were relieved; and soon after, the guards of all the other gates and forts. This done, and the French garrison having paraded towards the Port Royal,

Count de l'Aumont took his leave of Brigadier Hill, and delivered up to him the keys of the town ; after which, the Brigadier accompanied him to the said gate, where, the Count putting himself at the head of the French garrison, marched off for Winoxberg. This was at four in the afternoon ; upon which the French colours being struck, the Union flag was hoisted in three several places of the town, and the same salute was made to the Admiral, as usual, from Her Majesty's fortifications, which Sir John returned, first by himself, and then by the whole fleet.

An express was dispatched that evening to the Secretary of State and the Lords of the Admiralty, to acquaint them that the citadel, with all the forts of Dunkirk were now actually in Her Majesty's possession. And believing there would be little or no occasion after two or three days for the continuance of the fleet, Sir John desired their Lordships' directions therein. The next morning the Admiral went on shore and paid a visit to Mr. Hill, and at his going on board was saluted by the pier-head forts. A French privateer likewise coming in saluted the Admiral. The roth, he ordered the yachts and transports to the Nore under convoy of two men-of-war, and the Sorlings was directed to proceed to Ostend, and see the trade from thence in safety to the Downs. In the evening the late Governor of Dunkirk and General Hill paid the Admiral a visit on board the Bedford, and were entertained with several other gentlemen, French and English, who accompanied them, and were saluted at their going on shore.

After this, nothing passed for several days but entertainments, balls, and other reciprocal marks of the good understanding that subsisted

between the late French Governor and the present English one. Nevertheless, this French air did not agree with the English constitutions; for abundance of men, both seamen and soldiers, fell sick with a fever from the place, called the Dunkirk fever, which at first was not very mortal, nor of long continuance, only leaving an extreme weakness behind it, but afterwards proved very fatal amongst the soldiers.

The 17th, General Hill wrote to Sir John, to acquaint him that having considered the situation that the garrison of Dunkirk might be in upon his departure with the fleet for England, he thought it would be absolutely for Her Majesty's service, that he should leave two ships with a sufficient quantity of provisions for 3000 men for a week; that the reason he would have the provisions put on board those ships and not into the citadel, was because he would not give the least umbrage to the people of the town. To this Sir John returned an answer directly that he would venture to leave two ships, and what provisions they could conveniently take in; but before he put the same on board, he desired he would consider and give him his answer, whether he thought the doing so would not give the people of the town as much umbrage, as if it was to be sent ashore, it being, he feared, impossible to conceal such a thing from them. But the General gave his answer that this service was so necessary in the present juncture, that he thought it should not be left undone, whatever conjectures it might occasion. It seems the General did not care to trust for his subsistence to the French, after the fleet was gone. This was a circumstance that was not perhaps thought of, and ought to have been particularly provided against. For now

there was a necessity to depend wholly upon them, or by providing for their own subsistence, to give them jealousy, perhaps, that we intended to hold the place, making the troops independent of the town.¹ But it appeared so necessary to Sir John that, although he had no power to do it by any order he had received, he readily concurred with the General that it was a circumstance upon which the success of the whole enterprise might depend, and therefore gave immediate orders to put on board the Portsmouth and Norwich (two Fourth Rates) the quantity of provisions desired ; and also gave strict orders to their officers to be very careful that no discovery should be made of the reason of its being put on board, desiring Mr. Hill, however, not to make use of any part of it, unless there should be an absolute necessity for so doing.

The 15th, Sir John received the Admiralty's order (of the 12th) for his return to the Downs. Whereupon the next morning he made the signal to unmoor and at noon weighed from Flemish Road, plying to windward ; but at three was obliged to come to anchor in Sinten Deep. They weighed from thence next morning, being obliged to tide it over, and the 20th, in the morning, anchored in the Downs, being saluted by the castles and men-of-war there. By this time the Dunkirk fever, which before had very much weakened the ships' companies, had now spread itself so much, that the Bedford alone had 150 men sick of that distemper, though they were considerably short of their full complement ; and

¹ Sc. For now the English garrison had either to trust to French good-will—a doubtful quantity ; or else, by drawing upon the R.N. for supplies, arouse the animosity of those whose friendship they were cultivating.

it became so general that few escaped. The rest of the ships were little better ; but by good Providence, it did not prove mortal to many seamen, as it did to the soldiers they left behind at Dunkirk. The hospitals at Deal were filled with the sick, but not being able to contain one half of the number, the Admiral gave orders to the Agent Victualler at Dover, to victual the ships every Tuesday with mutton, and every Saturday with fresh beef instead of salted, by which means, he had the satisfaction to see most of them in a fair way of recovery before he left the fleet. And I think it is very much to be wondered at that our men-of-war are not more frequently, nay constantly, victualled with fresh meat whilst they are in harbour, seeing it contributes so much to the health of the ships' companies, and more especially when it comes much cheaper to the Government than salted. The Dunkirk fever being thus transported into England, was carried from Deal to London, and became very troublesome in that great metropolis, where, though it lowered their spirits, it did not make them more pacific.

The 20th, at night, the Admiral received an order for sending two ships to the Nore, to take on board £50,000 and carry the same to Holland. And the next day he appointed the Rochester and Bonaventure¹ for that service. Two days after he received another order from the Admiralty not to seize any neutral ships bound with grain to Spain. The same day he appointed the Ruby and Success to convoy the tin ships and other trade to the westward ; another to convoy the trade to Ostend ; and the Dover was dispatched

¹ 'Bonadventure,' author's spelling.

with part of General Hill's equipage, and clothing for the soldiers at Dunkirk. The 24th, he appointed the Gloucester and Moor to cruise between the South Foreland and Calais, with directions to look into the Downs every twenty-four hours in expectation of orders; and the Arundel coming in with some ships from Portsmouth, was ordered to see them to the Nore, and then return to the Downs. In the evening he wrote to the Admiralty to acquaint them with these proceedings, and to let them know it was his desire, if their Lordships had no immediate commands for him there, that they would give him leave to wait on them at the Board. In answer to this, the 30th, he received their Lordships order (of the day before) that whereas the Queen's consent had been signified to them by the Earl of Dartmouth Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State, for his coming to town, he might do it when he should find most convenient; but before he left the Downs, he was to give orders to Sir Edward Whitaker to cause the ships there to be victualled to three months, that they might be in a constant readiness to proceed on service. And by another order he was directed to send a ship with a month's provisions to be put on board the Portsmouth at Dunkirk. The same was accordingly put on board the Dover and sent thither. And Sir John having given directions to Sir Edward Whitaker, pursuant to the above orders, and appointed him to take upon him the command of all her Majesty's ships and vessels in the Downs, the 31st of July, he struck his flag and set out for London by land, where he arrived the next day; and waiting upon Her Majesty, had the honour to meet with a very gracious reception.

Indeed, the British forces being in possession of Dunkirk was a sensible pleasure to the whole nation, but in particular to the ministers, as being the basis whereon their whole pacific scheme depended. The latter end of July the Duke of Ormonde detached six battalions to reinforce the garrison of Dunkirk, and relieve the marines there, and sent thither a train of artillery with some ammunition, the French having drawn off most of their cannon from the ramparts of that place. Nevertheless, Bishop Burnet observes, we had it in a very precarious manner; and Mr. Boyer, that the force they had in it, rendered our possession of it for some time precarious. 'We kept indeed,' says the Bishop, 'a sort of garrison in it, but it was so ill supplied with artillery and ammunition, that it was visible they were not in a condition to keep the place any longer than the French were willing to let them stay in it.' And indeed there seems to be too much truth in this, when we consider that no care was taken to subsist the troops there, but they were left wholly to depend upon the French for provisions; that the civil government was continued in the French hands without any alteration; and [that] several of their ships and galleys were permitted to stay in the harbour, with two or three battalions of marines in the town, on pretence of guarding the stores. The privateers likewise of that place were indulged the liberty of going in and out, provided they brought no English prizes into the port. This was indeed acting (as Mr. Secretary St. John says the whole affair had been carried on with the French)¹ *upon honour*; but not altogether so agreeable to what he says, (in

¹ Above, vol. ii, p. 382.

his letter before-mentioned) Her Majesty desired, namely, that it should be finished with the best grace on her part. However we did keep it¹ till the entire demolition was performed. But this was not done till three months after the time limited, and six after the signing of the peace; which encouraged the inhabitants to petition Her Majesty to spare the port and harbour of that town. But the Queen would not hearken to it.

Soon after, Colonel Armstrong and Colonel Clayton were, by a patent under the Great Seal, appointed commissioners to see the fortifications demolished and rased; and at the same time two captains of men-of-war were appointed by the Admiralty, to see the harbour ruined and filled up. The French upon this, as on all other occasions, showed their usual chicanery, and would have begun by making a breach in the main fortifications of the town, whereby the English garrison would have been exposed, and the French might easily have made themselves masters of the place and prevented any further proceedings. But the commissioners insisted the outworks should be first demolished, both to the sea and land; next the harbour ruined and filled; afterwards the main fortifications of the place destroyed, and last of all the citadel; which was accordingly begun the 26th of September, and finished the latter end of November, 1713. Thus was this ancient nest of pirates dismantled, both haven and fortifications, which had cost the French King such immense sums, and from whence the British nation received more damage in their trade, than from almost all the ports

¹ Dunkirk.

of France besides, either in the ocean or in the Mediterranean.

Shortly after Sir John came to town, the Queen was pleased to declare the Earl of Strafford, her plenipotentiary at Utrecht, First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty; which post, (as it was said) he had been promised before he set out for Holland. But his Lordship continuing to pursue his negotiations abroad, the commission remained in effect as before, and the management of the affairs at that Board rested upon Sir John, as the First Acting Commissioner; and if I am not mistaken, his Lordship never took upon him the execution of that office.

In the meantime the suspension of arms, which was only for two months, was by a new treaty continued for four months longer, and the same was declared at London the 16th of August by a proclamation enjoining the observance thereof. And an order of council was published that, for the security of commerce, as soon as passes could be interchanged, they would be delivered to such of Her Majesty's subjects as should desire the same. By this means the English subjects were for their security obliged to purchase French passes from the Secretaries of State at a dear rate, which cost them nothing. But what was worse; the French Court, not having sent over the passes so soon as the English ministers transmitted theirs to France, it happened that several French ships, which were taken by Sir Thomas Hardy, were released upon producing English passes, while several English ships were at the same time made prize for want of French passes. After this, the negotiations, not being brought to so speedy

a conclusion as was expected, made it necessary to renew the cessation of arms for four months longer, which was accordingly done by an agreement, signed at London, the 26th of November ; and the last day of March, 1713, the peace was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France, the ministers of Savoy, and the ambassadors of Portugal, Prussia and the States General. The same was dispatched to England by Mr. St. John, Secretary of the British Embassy, who arrived with it at Whitehall, on Friday the 3rd of April. This was immediately notified by discharging the guns of the Tower, and attended in the evening by popular rejoicings. The Tuesday following the Queen held a council, wherein it was agreed to ratify the treaty ; which was accordingly done by Her Majesty the same day, the time agreed upon for exchanging the ratifications not admitting of delays.

The peace being thus signed and ratified, Her Majesty resolved not to delay any longer meeting her Parliament ; and the 9th of April, she opened the session by a speech, acquainting them with what she had done, and received the thanks of both Houses. The 28th following, the ratifications were exchanged at Utrecht between the ministers of Great Britain and France ; and being brought to London, the Queen on the same day of the month (4 May), on which the war was proclaimed just eleven years before, signed a proclamation for publishing the peace, which was performed the 5th of May with the usual ceremonies. Shortly after, the treaty of peace and commerce was communicated to the House of Commons, and the consideration of this was the principal business of the session.

In the meantime Her Majesty having appointed the 7th of July for a public Thanksgiving for the safe and honourable peace lately concluded, invited her Parliament to attend her to St. Paul's. Accordingly both Houses went thither with the usual state; only Her Majesty not having entirely recovered her strength since the last fit of the gout, could not be present at that solemnity. The same evening was concluded with bonfires and illuminations throughout the cities of London and Westminster; and majestic fireworks were played off on the Thames, over against Whitehall. The 16th following, Her Majesty went to the House of Peers; and, having passed several Acts, made a speech to both Houses, and prorogued the Parliament to the 28th, but they were dissolved before that day came. This was the end of the third and last session of the third Parliament of Great Britain, which some have distinguished by the name of 'Pacific.' The day the Parliament was prorogued, gold medals of about five pounds value each, struck upon occasion of the peace by Her Majesty's order, were given to all the members of both Houses of Parliament; having on one side Her Majesty's bust Laureate, ANNA D.G. MAG. BRI. FR. ET HIB. REG.; [and on the] reverse, Britannia, standing upon the sea shore, holding an olive branch in her right hand, and the representation of ships sailing upon the sea; and upon the land, ploughing and sowing, as cultivating the Arts of Peace, with this motto, COMPOSITIS VENERANTUR ARMIS.¹ MDCCXIII.

The advantages procured us by this peace

¹ 'Discarding their weapons men fall on their knees.' The last line of Horace's ode in praise of Tiberius Claudius Nero, the stepson of Augustus; Book IV, 14.

are reckoned as follows. The settlement of the succession to the Crown in the House of Hanover was acknowledged by the Kings of France and Spain. The union of France and Spain was prevented. The benefit of the Assiento trade, and the privilege of sending a ship every year to the Spanish West Indies was granted to the South Sea Company. Gibraltar, and the island of Minorca were yielded to the Crown of Great Britain. Hudson's Bay and Strait was restored ; and all damages sustained by the English company trading thither, made good. All right of the French nation to any part of the island of St. Christopher was renounced. Nova Scotia and its dependencies were left in the possession of the British nation. Such parts of Newfoundland as were possessed by the French were given up. The haven and fortifications of Dunkirk (which had cost immense sums) were filled up and entirely demolished. But all these advantages were thought far short of what might have been expected.

As [the people of] Great Britain had been the head of the Grand Alliance, so they had the political honour to see that the rest could do nothing without them ; and no sooner were their troops withdrawn, but the allies were beaten everywhere. And finally, as the allies had imposed upon us the burthen of the war ; so we imposed upon the allies our own terms of peace. After all, it is undoubtedly true that a bad peace is better than a successful war ; and as Mr. Boyer observes, and concludes his *History of the Reign of Queen Anne*, 'impartial men will not reflect on the peace she made, before it is mended by more advantageous treaties.'

As to the peace between Great Britain and

Spain, the ratifications were not exchanged till the February following, and the first of March the same was proclaimed. I have already mentioned as much of this as we may call advantageous to Great Britain. But there is one thing that I cannot pass over in silence, which was the little care we took to secure those brave and faithful Catalans, whom we had drawn in and encouraged to declare for King Charles. 'Tis true, an amnesty was granted for those people in the treaty, but no care was taken to secure their ancient liberties and privileges ; so that these brave, unfortunate people, being first abandoned by their ungrateful Prince, for whom they had done and suffered so much ; and trusting that the Queen of Great Britain (in whose hands God Almighty had put more effectual means) would interpose in their behalf, held out after the concluding of the treaty. Whereby having forfeited the terms of it and become rebels to the King who was acknowledged their lawful sovereign, they suffered all the miseries that a brave people can do in defence of their liberty ; and being at last overcome, were used with all the barbarities the conquerors could invent. Some of their general officers were drawn alive by the heels at horses' tails round the walls of the city ; others were put to dishonourable and shameful deaths ; others were dispersed in the prisons all over Spain ; and those that remained, were living monuments of slavery. I need mention but this one instance of it ; that they were not permitted to have any arms, which are worn by all the Spaniards from the highest to the lowest as a mark of honour and freedom ; nor so much as an edged tool in their houses, only one knife, which was chained to a table for the common use of the family to

cut their meat with. To such complete slavery, were the freest and bravest people of Spain reduced. Her Majesty indeed did use her good offices to obtain for the Catalans their liberties and privileges, being obliged (as she declared) in honour and conscience to do so. Nay, she desired it as a favour, but to no purpose. How altered was the scene, when she who might have commanded, now could not be obliged even to satisfy her honour and her conscience! It was now too late, and there was¹ no good offices beyond the letter of the treaty. So these poor people were sacrificed to the resentment of their unrelenting enemies.

This was the conclusion of a long and glorious war, but more especially so by sea. For the French King, not being able to oppose our naval force, was reduced to the necessity of continuing the war by small squadrons, cruisers and privateers, whilst the navy of Great Britain was not diminished. And this was the more extraordinary, because the Dutch did not comply with their engagements, not sending above half the number of ships they ought to have done, a difficulty we did not labour under the first war.² Nevertheless we were attended with much greater success in this war than in the former, both with respect to the enemy's men-of-war and privateers. For by Mr. Burchett's account, it appears that the loss of the French in the former war exceeded ours by 1132 guns, whereas in the present war, their loss exceeded ours by 1498 guns, exclusive of what Spanish ships were

¹ *Sic.*

² War of the English Succession, 1689-97.

taken and destroyed.¹ And the enemy had much worse fortune with their privateers, 700 of them having been taken and destroyed by our frigates. This loss of the French in their cruisers and privateers was chiefly in the three last years of the war, for till then we had not taken effectual measures to suppress them. How much we had suffered till then in that particular, by the ignorance and bad management of our Admiralty, was very notorious. Sir John had often proposed

¹ Burchett's figures will be found on pp. 573-4 and 799-800. They may be summarised as follows:

WAR OF ENGLISH SUCCESSION, 1689-97

	Ships,		Guns.
French losses	59		2244
English losses. . . .	50		1112
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	9		1132
	<hr/>		<hr/>

WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION, 1702-13

French losses	52	3094
English losses. . . .	38	1596
	<hr/>	
	14	1498
	<hr/>	

Lediard follows these figures, which for the Spanish Succession War are ridiculous. With the information at his disposal Burchett might have attained an accuracy with which modern research could not hope to compete. Yet the following figures are unexceptionable and quite recently compiled:

SHIPS * LOST BETWEEN 1702-13

	By Capture.	By Shipwreck, &c.	Total.
French losses	135	50	185
English losses	44	38	82

* Viz., ships of the navies royal, exclusive of privateers.

methods to prevent it, but to no purpose. But as soon as he was in power and could apply a remedy, he did, and had the pleasure to make those three years he presided at the Admiralty Board as remarkably successful against the enemy's cruisers and privateers, as they had before been against us; and more of them were destroyed and taken in that time than had been done all the former part of the war. Whereby they, being ruined in the only means they could carry on the war by sea, had no hopes left but from peace. As in our cruisers, so in other things the experience we had had in the former war did not make us wise till almost the conclusion of the latter. Some of the same mismanagements prevailed: the sailors discouraged; the ships consequently ill manned and ill paid (though better than in King William's war); in the victualling, great neglects whereby many a good design was disconcerted; and the ships neither cleaned nor relieved, or supplied from England as the public service required. But it can never be otherwise, whilst noblemen, Parliament men and other unqualified persons have so much influence in the economy of the navy, land-commissioners being always the tools of ministers. This made Sir John desirous to be as much as possible in his military capacity, where he could be sure of acting always for the best. And in this, as he had the good fortune to begin the war with the first remarkable instance of success against the common enemy (the expedition to Newfoundland) so he closed it by the last remarkable event, namely, the taking possession of the city and harbour of Dunkirk.

CHAPTER IX¹

Sir John is appointed Admiral of the Fleet the fifth time. The death of Queen Anne. King George's accession to the Crown. Sir John is removed from all his places. Declines his election ; lives privately. His retirement. Death and character.

IN the last chapter I brought my history down to the conclusion of the peace with France and Spain : and before this, as in order of time, I observed that, soon after Sir John's arrival from the Dunkirk expedition, Her Majesty was pleased to appoint the Earl of Strafford (her Plenipotentiary at Utrecht) to be First Lord Commissioner of the Admiralty. But his Lordship, pursuing his negotiations abroad, never did take upon him the execution of that office ; whereby Sir John, though but second in the Commission, continued (as he had some time been) the Chairman at that Board. He had likewise a new commission, bearing date the 17th of March, 1712-13, appointing him the fifth time Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of her Majesty's fleet. For this post is kept up in time of peace as well as war, and the senior Admiral receives half-pay accordingly, unless otherwise provided for. For by the custom of the navy, an Admiral

¹ The period covered by this chapter extends from August 1713 to August 1720.

may receive whole-pay, and a salary as one of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty at the same time ; but cannot do so, being in half-pay, the same being paid in consideration that those who receive it have not had the benefit of any other employment during that time. And the Admiral of the Fleet being usually one of the Board of Admiralty, the half-pay of that officer is thereby saved to the public in time of peace. Whether Sir John hoisted his flag under this commission I don't know, but it is probable he might, because I find he continued in whole-pay as Admiral to the 25th of August following. However that be, it is certain he never went to sea any more, nor could there, after the ratification of the peace, be any occasion for a squadron to require the command of the Admiral of the Fleet.

Having now done with military affairs, we must consider what passed in the Parliament and the Court, as far as is necessary for our purpose. The last Parliament having been dissolved by proclamation the 8th of August, 1713, the 17th following, another proclamation was issued for calling a new one, the writs to bear test the 18th of August, and returnable the 12th of November following. Upon this occasion, Sir John was unanimously chosen¹ the third time to represent the city of Rochester in Parliament, and at the request of the Corporation he gave them his picture, which was hung up in the Town Hall, with those of other eminent admirals, members for that city. Before the time came to meet, the Parliament was prorogued by proclamation to the 10th of December ; which

¹ ' Chose,' author's spelling.

was occasioned by the Queen's illness and the quarrels that prevailed amongst the ministers, who, being divided at this critical juncture, made it strongly reported there would be some alteration in the ministry. The dangerous state of the Queen's health variously affected the different parties. Those in the Chevalier's¹ interest vainly flattered themselves with his restoration; whilst those in the Hanover interest were much alarmed upon the report of a French squadron fitting out, to take on board 12,000 land men. This terrified the moneyed men wonderfully, made the public funds continue to fall some time, and occasioned a run upon the Bank. But news coming from Holland that there was nothing in all this; that there was no squadron fitting out in France, and that the Pretender continued in Lorraine, these fears were dispelled. Indeed, it seems to have been only a device of the Whigs to distress the ministers and render them odious; and to terrify the people with France and the Pretender, agreeable to their designs of promoting the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover.

The 2nd of March, 1713-14, Her Majesty opened the new Parliament by a speech, and laid before them the treaty of commerce with Spain; upon which she received an address of thanks from both Houses. The business of the session chiefly turned upon party disputes; the ministers in the meantime carrying on their schemes, under the specious cloak of the Queen's measures. The Lord Bolingbroke, having got the ascendant over the Lord Treasurer,² pushed

¹ James Francis Edward Stuart (1688-1766), the Chevalier de St. George or 'Old Pretender.'

² Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.

on his designs, despairing of the Queen's life, Her Majesty having been taken ill in the same manner she had been two months before. And though the Commons voted that the Protestant succession was not in danger, the Whigs in the meantime privately concerted proper measures for securing it against all events.

Whilst these feuds and debates in relation to the state of the nation and the late peace prevailed in Parliament, died the Princess Sophia, next and immediate heir to the Crown after Her Majesty by the Act of Settlement. Whereupon it was said to have been debated in Council whether the Queen should invite over the Duke of Cambridge.¹ But though the Chancellor² and Lord Privy Seal³ were for it, the Lord Bolingbroke carried the negative, and encouraged by this success, resolved, it is said, to use all means to defeat the Protestant succession; but some think he was too good a politician to attempt a design so absolutely impracticable. It is however certain, one thing he attempted and carried, which was the bill to prevent the growth of schism.⁴ But Her Majesty at the instance of her Parliament published a proclamation with a reward of £5000 for apprehending the Pretender; for which the Commons returned their thanks, and voted a further reward of £100,000. The 9th of July Her Majesty came to the House, and after a speech from the throne, the Lord Chancellor, by the Queen's command, prorogued the Parlia-

¹ The Electoral Prince, afterwards George I.

² Simon, Viscount Harcourt.

³ William Legge, first Earl of Dartmouth, a son of James II's Admiral.

⁴ The Schism Act of 1714 prevented any dissenter from becoming a schoolmaster.

ment to the 10th of August, which concluded the parliamentary affairs of Her Majesty's reign. As to the Admiralty affairs, there happened no public occurrence worthy notice, everything being pacific, unless with regard to party business. Some that had hitherto acted very freely, begun now very politically to tack about, foreseeing the change that must shortly happen, and judging it for their interest to be displaced, in order to make a merit of it when the tide turned. It was this that occasioned a new commission to be passed for the Admiralty to leave out Sir George Byng, and Mr. Aislabie; and Sir George Beaumont was added to it.¹

In the meantime Her Majesty's health grew worse; and not many days after the rising of the Parliament, the jars between the Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke broke out into an open rupture. The Treasurer was removed, and his removal was so sudden, and occasioned such strife and confusion, that no scheme was agreed on, or even formed, to supply his place and such other vacancies as naturally attended it. In a Cabinet Council, the 27th of July, it was proposed to put the Treasury into commission, but no resolution was absolutely taken. And two days after, the Cabinet Council was to have sat again, but was put off by reason of the Queen's indisposition; which was much increased by the late quarrelling amongst her servants. And it is said, she intimated as much to one of her physicians, and that she should not outlive it.

The 30th of July, Her Majesty being thought

¹ The commission then stood thus: The Earl of Strafford, Sir John Leake, Sir William Drake, Sir James Wishart, George Clarke, Esq., and Sir George Beaumont.—*Author's Note.*

to be either dead or expiring, a message was sent to the Council then at the Cockpit, who thereupon immediately broke up and went to Kensington. But Her Majesty recovered her speech afterwards so as to approve of the Duke of Shrewsbury to fill the post of Treasurer, very much to the satisfaction of those in the interest of the Hanover succession. In the afternoon the Queen relapsed, and the physicians acquainted the Council, Her Majesty was in the utmost danger. Whereupon with great prudence and dispatch they provided for the security of the cities of London and Westminster, of the maritime towns, and of Scotland and Ireland. Four regiments of horse and dragoons were ordered to London to keep the Jacobites and disaffected in awe ; and seven of the battalions of British forces then in Flanders were ordered to embark at Ostend for England with all possible speed. On the other hand the Lords of the Admiralty caused an embargo to be laid on all shipping, and gave directions for fitting out as many men-of-war as could timely be got ready ; and by this means the public tranquillity remained undisturbed.

The Queen continuing all night and the next morning in a condition that her life was despaired of, the Privy Council sent orders to the Heralds and to a troop of Life Guards to be in a readiness to proclaim the Elector of Brunswick, King of Great Britain, &c. ; and at the same time caused a letter to be wrote to His Electoral Highness, to acquaint him with the extreme danger the Queen was in, with the measures they had taken to secure the Crown to him, and to desire he would repair with all convenient speed to Holland, where a British squadron, which was then fitting out with all possible expedition, would attend him and

bring him over, in case it pleased God to call the Queen to His mercy. And by the same messenger who carried this, orders were dispatched to the Earl of Strafford to desire the States General to be ready to perform the guarantee of the Protestant succession, if need should require. This done, they sent a reinforcement to Portsmouth, and appointed the Earl of Berkeley, Vice-Admiral of the Red, to command the fleet to convoy His Majesty to England.

By this time, all means proving ineffectual, Her Majesty expired at Kensington, on Sunday the first of August, a little after seven in the morning, in the fiftieth year of her age, having reigned twelve years and five months wanting seven days; a Princess endowed with as many virtues as ever adorned a private life, and as few frailties as ever blemished a diadem. And though the transactions of the latter part of her reign have been censured; yet, as Bishop Burnet says, 'We are not to doubt but her intentions were, as she declared them to be, "All for the good and happiness of her people."' And therefore she may justly be pronounced to have been a great and excellent Queen. The 24th following, she was privately interred in the royal vault in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey.

No sooner was the Queen expired than the Lords of the Council assembled at St. James's, to whom the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Resident of Brunswick, pursuant to the Act of *iv & v* of Queen Anne, delivered the three instruments under the hand and seal of His Highness the Elector of Brunswick, nominating the persons to be added to the seven great officers of the Kingdom, appointed to be Lords Justices. The same day

His Majesty was proclaimed by the title of George, King of Great Britain ; and pursuant to the Act *vi Annæ* the Parliament met that afternoon at Westminster. But the Speaker being absent, the members present only qualified themselves by taking the oaths, making and subscribing the Declaration, and taking and subscribing the oath of Abjuration. The 4th, the Speaker came to town, and the next day the Lords Justices came to the House of Peers, and by the Chancellor made a speech to both Houses, recommending the making a provision for the support of His Majesty ; to which they returned a dutiful and loyal address. The 21st of August, the bill for the better support of His Majesty's household, and of the honour and dignity of the Crown, was passed by the Lords Justices and, after a speech, both Houses were adjourned to the 25th of August ; when, being met, they were prorogued to the 27th of September, which concluded the second session of the fourth Parliament of Great Britain, and the last of Queen Anne's reign.

By this time, all things being settled, the last of August, His Majesty King George set out from Herrenhausen without ceremony. The 16th of September, His Majesty embarked at Oranje Polder on board the Peregrine yacht, and was convoyed by a squadron of British and Dutch men-of-war, under the command of the Earl of Berkeley to England, and arrived at Greenwich the 18th. Two days after, His Majesty made his public entry into London, and the 20th of October following, was solemnly crowned at Westminster.

Everyone who remembers the times I am now speaking of cannot forget that party like a torrent bore down all before it. To traduce the late Queen Anne and her whole race was made

the test of allegiance to King George, notwithstanding the particular acts of Her Majesty to secure the succession of the House of Hanover, which she approved by the very last act of her life. Sir John had too much honour and gratitude to traduce the memory of the good Queen for any consideration, and his spirit was above mean compliances. As he was conscious of no ill, so he feared none; and in this doubtful state he behaved with his usual moderation, patiently waiting to be made either a figure or a cipher. From this reserved behaviour his enemies drew arguments of disaffection, and [reasoned] that he did not desire to serve His Majesty. But on the contrary, he was very desirous of it, but scorned to do it upon dishonourable terms.

In the meantime great revolutions were made in all public offices. And amongst the rest there was a thorough change at the Admiralty Board by a new commission the 11th of October; nor was there any one in it who had been in the last, or even in the commission preceding the last, except Sir George Byng, who always fell upon his feet. The 5th of November following, Sir John was superseded, as Admiral of the Fleet, by Matthew Aylmer, Esq; and as to the post of Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, the same being a patent-office, was determined by Her Majesty's death: so that at once, he was divested of all his employments.

The new administration being formed, and the solemnity of the Coronation over, with other previous matters, it was thought necessary to have a new Parliament. For this end a proclamation was published the 15th of January; ¹

¹ 1715.

the writs to bear test the 17th following, and to be returnable the 17th of March. Sir John had served for the city of Rochester in three parliaments; and however he might be wanting to his other friends in not serving them, he had not been wanting to his Rochester friends. For besides many particular services, both public and private, he constantly maintained a schoolmaster at £50 per annum to teach the freemen's daughters writing and arithmetic. The harmony which had so long subsisted betwixt him and his constituents would not suffer him to decline their favours, nor let them reject him. On the contrary, though he was now divested of all power, and Rochester is known to be an Admiralty borough, they engaged him to stand, even after Colonel Cage, with whom he had hitherto served, had given it up. Sir John for his part desired rather to decline it, knowing how impossible it was to act without becoming obnoxious to the Court, or being a time-server; and therefore it was in compliance with those he had hitherto esteemed his friends that he suffered himself to be named a candidate.

As soon as this was known, no means were unattempted to win over those of his friends in whom he principally confided. The chief of these was Mr. Best, an eminent and wealthy brewer, who had married his sister. This man was soon wrought upon to sacrifice all obligations, and not only to desert his brother, but to break his interest and prevent his election. To effect this, he insinuated that Sir John, being laid aside and a person obnoxious to the Ministry, would never have it in his power to serve them any more; that indeed, he believed, he would not stand the election, but if he did, he would not be chosen;

that he was his relation and friend, and therefore, to be sure they might depend upon it, he would serve him if he could ; but he found it was to no purpose, and therefore advised them to follow their own interest ; a doctrine easily inculcated. In fine, as the most effectual means to succeed, he undertook to persuade Sir John himself to decline it. For this purpose he wrote him a letter, full of brotherly love and kindness, and [assuring him] how much he desired to serve him ; but [asserting] that abundance in his interest were gone over, and he thought it his duty to represent to him the impossibility of succeeding : and as he had his welfare much at heart, [he] begged him to consider, whether it would be advisable to stand the election : [seeing] that, if he was chosen, it must be in direct opposition to the Court (which would be attended with a great expense) and any opposition would make him obnoxious to the Ministry ; and therefore [he] advised him, as a friend, to decline the election, which would give them some more favourable dispositions towards him. By this Sir John was assured of what he before only suspected, that he had a false brother. And as he was himself wavering, he resolved to save them the shame of declaring openly against him, and prevent the disappointment which would follow to himself. He therefore sent two letters to Mr. Best, one declaring himself a candidate, the other declining it, desiring him with the advice of his friends to apply which of them they thought convenient. This surprised them a little, because it threw the whole success of the event upon them. They did not care to deliver the declining letter upon their own judgments, there being a strong party for him who did not approve of it ; and therefore if they did

so, it would be to take all the odium upon themselves, and then his other friends might, nevertheless, set him up [on] the day of election. What to do they could not well tell ; but, after a consultation, they agreed upon the following letter, which his brother Best transmitted to him from Mr. Barrel, Recorder of the city, viz :—

ROCHESTER, *January 17, 1714.*¹

SIR,—The letter you were pleased to write to Mr. Best, with the two enclosed, were considered of by Mr. Broke, Mr. Best, Capt. Myhill, Mr. Unit, and myself. And when we had recollected the accounts we have had from London, Woolwich, Deptford, and the out-parts of our own neighbourhood, and had compared these with the proceedings of our own city and the dock and navy in our neighbourhood ; we could not but conclude that it would be impossible for us to stem the violence of the present torrent that runs against us. Since I had the honour to write last to you, there have been eight new freemen made, which now swells the number of the new levies to about seventy. And as we are informed,² there are about thirty of our freemen newly entered in the ordinary, and the Commissioner's barge has made room for a great many more ; and to give a finishing stroke to our case, Colonel Cage had this day wrote a letter to signify publicly, what he had before privately intimated to several of his friends, that he resolves totally to decline the election. These things put together made us all entirely of opinion that there was no room for hope ; that all that could be considered, was how the election must be lost with more or less honour. We therefore thought the declining letter most proper to be delivered, and we think the sooner that were done the better if you are of the same opinion ; because it may prevent some instances of our adversaries' cruelty, such as has been already practised upon Champ,

¹ 1715.

² According to trustworthy information.

and is going to be practised, as we are informed, upon poor Dr. Cony.

We are desirous that whatever final resolutions you shall please to take in this matter, they may come from you, as entirely your own determination, and not the effect of any influence of ours, because, as we apprehend, not only some of your false friends, but some of our warmer brother Tories, would not fail to lay the odium of the loss of your election at our doors; which would be an infamy as grievous to us to bear, as we know ourselves to be undeserving of it. I have therefore enclosed both your letters, and we desire that of them which you please to pitch upon to be delivered should (after you have filled up the date yourself) be sealed with your own seal, and sent to Mr. Best, to be delivered by him to the Mayor. It is likewise thought advisable that you will please in your letter to Mr. Best himself to intimate something of the substance of your corporation letter, which might be communicated to the free-men, in case the Mayor should suppress your letter to them. The account, Sir, I am forced to send you cannot be more disagreeable to you, than it is heartily afflicting to,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,
FRANCIS BARREL.

This letter expressed the sentiments of the gentlemen therein mentioned (on whom he principally relied) so clearly, that he made no difficulty in sending the letter in the manner they desired, which put an end to the affair; though, as they apprehended, the declining letter had certainly been suppressed by the Mayor and others in Sir John's interest (who suspected some treachery) had not they taken the precaution to get the substance of his corporation letter inserted in that which enclosed it to Mr. Best. And that, being first shown, brought out the other, which convinced his friends and satisfied his enemies.

There was one thing yet remained to be brought upon the carpet, namely, what provision was to be made for Sir John, in consideration of his long and faithful service, since the national provision of half-pay as Admiral was given to Mr. Aylmer. For every sea-officer by that establishment is entitled to half-pay, when unemployed, according to his seniority and rank in the Navy, if he has not forfeited his title thereto by misbehaviour. And as Sir John was removed for reasons of state or conveniency only, his services most eminent, his conduct unblamable; common justice demanded a recompense in lieu of that half-pay, which he was justly and legally entitled to. This the ministers were conscious of, and therefore soon after the meeting of the Parliament, he was acquainted he might have a pension, if he would apply for it. He took some time to consider of it, for he thought it was a matter of right, which should be granted of course, not asked for. But amongst ministers, it seems, this is the constant method, and a man must solicit to have common justice, and take it as a favour. And though custom has reconciled this practice, it is irksome to a generous mind, not used to beg favours; and Sir John could not have brought his spirit to it for the sake of the advantage. But considering (as the times then were) that he might be stigmatized as disaffected; and under that character his old sea acquaintance, still employed, would not dare to come near him; this consideration, he declared, was the sole motive that induced him to apply for a pension. But he was equally surprised and disappointed, when he understood that His Majesty by his warrant, under his signal and sign manual, dated July 30, 1715, as a mark of his royal favour and bounty, in consideration

of his long and faithful service, had granted him a pension of £600 a year only, upon the ordinary establishment of the Navy; a pension no greater than had been given to Sir Stafford Fairborne, who had been only a Vice-Admiral; whereas, by the constant usage, pensions are always equivalent at least to the half-pay, which of Admiral of the Fleet is the clear sum of £2 10s. per diem. This partiality was the more obvious, because Mr. Aylmer who succeeded Sir John as Admiral (being junior to him in that post; only once before commanding in that station in the year 1710, at home, having before that only been a Vice-Admiral, and never done any service worthy memory) was immediately put upon half-pay as Admiral, and paid arrears as such from the year 1710, though Sir John was actually Admiral all that time.

It was certainly an ungenerous act of the then Lords Commissioners. For Sir John's actions were well known to His Majesty; and he¹ would as readily have consented to a suitable as an unsuitable pension, had their Lordships proposed it. He was now under a greater dilemma than before, for he was under the necessity of taking a pension below his character, or positively to refuse it and thereby bring upon himself all the inconveniences he intended to avoid. He was much perplexed, and remained some time in suspense what to do. Such a pension was an ungrateful return for his services to the public, and he could only resent it by rejecting it.

But his friends² used some arguments to persuade him to take it: [arguing] that though

¹ George I.

² Especially his old flag-captain; cp. *Life of Stephen Martin*, p. 138.

it was a mean allowance for what it was intended (namely, in consideration of his long and faithful services as Admiral and Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's fleet, &c.) yet it however was an acknowledgment of his merit and services ; and if it was not so much as it ought to be, it would reflect upon the giver rather than the receiver : that if he refused it, his enemies might use that as an argument, that he was not so well affected to His Majesty King George as he would be thought to be : that it might likewise be called an affront to His Majesty, and the effect of pride ; whereas by accepting it, he would give his enemies no room to reflect ; and though this pension was otherwise small, yet with respect to his fortune, it was considerable ; would make his retirement more comfortable and easy, and enable him to do some things agreeable to his inclination, which the straitness of his fortune would not otherwise permit him to do : in short, that all the reasons which induced him to ask for a pension, were much stronger to make him accept of it now it was granted. Upon these considerations, he returned answer that he would accept of it, which was all that passed upon this occasion. But this, like other pensions of King George's reign, was full taxed and ill paid ; so that it did not amount to an actual pension of £500 a year.

And here I cannot but reflect upon the hardships that attend military persons (more especially in the sea-service) above the civil. For what is the reward the brave man is to expect, if, after a life of glory, he happily escapes with life and limbs ? Why, the honour of having done all this. But as to advantage, which is the due acknowledgment of it ? If providentially, by some

lucky hit he has not improved his fortune¹ (for by the ordinary advantages of his profession he cannot do it) he must invert the whole man, and submit to everything most injurious to a brave and generous mind, to obtain a just reward, which sometimes with all this cannot be had. Now in civil employments we find every man qualified for what he can obtain, and if one civil employment does not answer, another will. But a military man can hardly change his profession ; and he has this particular disadvantage in England, that however great, virtuous and fortunate his actions may be, if he is not of the reigning party, or a turn happens in the ministry, they will profit him nothing. To which I might add,² the necessary dependence all military actions abroad have upon friends at home, and how much a man is exposed in his absence to lose both friends and reputation by the treachery of designing courtiers.

But having said so much upon this subject in general, I must observe that the sea-service is more exposed to all these disadvantages than the land : their preferments more difficult, their hazards and fatigues greater, and their reward less than in the land-service. That their preferment is more difficult in the sea- than in the land-service appears from hence ; that, whereas a man may become a captain in the latter at once without any previous qualifications ; in sea-service he must serve in different stations a prefixed time, must produce vouchers of his good behaviour, and prove himself qualified by examinations both in theory and practice, even


¹ Sc. If Providence has denied him the opportunity of improving his fortune . . .

² Sc. And to this disadvantage I might add two others, viz. . . .

before he can be a lieutenant. And being thus qualified, and even having behaved bravely, he may yet never obtain a lieutenant's commission, if he wants a friend. And greater difficulty will attend him afterwards to obtain a command. Now the eldest lieutenant of a regiment generally succeeds to be a captain, the eldest captain to be a major and so lieutenant-colonel at least, and sometimes to be colonel ; and then the promotion to be a general officer is shorter and more certain than from captain to admiral, as there are so many more general officers than admirals. All this while, the land-officer is in pay, constant whole pay. Whereas the sea-officer is but occasionally employed, and at other times on half-pay only ; which, if he has not a good interest at the Admiralty Board, may be always, being forced to make fresh application to his friends every time his ship is paid off. And in times of peace admirals are seldom employed at all, and except two or three of the admirals who are commissioners of the Admiralty, the rest are not upon so good a foot as the lowest field-officers in the land-service.

As to the fatigues and hazards, there can be no comparison. For besides all that the soldiers are liable to, the seamen are exposed to storms, rocks, springing of leaks, blowing up, and various accidents the others know nothing of. Their lives are one continued scene of labour and danger, never idle ; and whilst the soldier in winter is safe in his quarters, then is the seaman contending with all the elements, in remote climates, and ready, if occasion be, to do the soldier's duty. Neither in an engagement by sea is he less exposed than the soldier is in a battle or a siege ; for there, every man is equally exposed and cannot flinch, and the battle is more fierce and bloody.

And if it does not happen that in lines of battle at sea so many fall as in battles by land, it is because all that are killed in sea-fights are killed in battle, whereas three quarters of those that are killed in land-engagements are killed in the flight. After all these difficulties, fatigues and dangers, being arrived to the rank of an admiral, I know not by what fate, but our ministers, nor even our Princes do not show the same regard to an admiral as to a general.¹ And whilst the land-generals, besides their proper commands, have governments, and even civil preferments, but certainly a regiment whereby he is² enabled to live suitable to his³ rank, and every colonel is enabled in like manner to do so ; the poor sea-general has only the small pittance of his half-pay to support him in obscurity, absolutely excluded from all other public employment whatsoever. And this half-pay not certain neither ; for we have shown that all the advantage Sir John Leake derived from the merit of his many and eminent services to his country, terminated in a pension equivalent to little more than half his half-pay as admiral. Nevertheless, by taking it, he disappointed and silenced his enemies, giving a proof of that moderation, which he had shown all his life, never seeking a reward, but patiently waiting to receive whatever his country might think he deserved.

 We have now brought Sir John from the most public to the most private station, a contrast which few can bear with an equal mind. Every

¹ *Sc.* Even should he be assisted by some turn of Fortune's wheel, and, surmounting all difficulties fatigues and dangers, arrive at the rank of Admiral ; he does so only to find that neither Ministers nor Princes extend to him the regard which they bestow upon a General.

² They are.

³ Their.

man who has experienced it in private life, is sensible how difficult it is for a man of business to retire. But much more so must it be to men in public stations, attended with authority and respect, where a man is never without a circle of attendants, receiving honours and dispensing favours. For such a man to be alone is almost not to be. There is no station whatsoever attended with so much power and grandeur as the military, wherein, as generals or admirals commanding-in-chief, they have the power and respect of Princes. Moreover, in time of war, especially if attended with the triumphs of a conqueror, they are both feared and courted wherever they go, like the masters they represent. To this, the grandeur of the highest offices at home bears no proportion, because in the presence of the Sovereign all lesser powers are eclipsed ; and it does not become a Prince to show that respect and familiarity to a subject (however great) which he may think fit, and it may be proper to do, to a foreigner who commands the forces of an ally for his service. Those that have been accustomed to these honours can but ill brook the dependence they stand in and must show to ministers at home. Much less is it tolerable to sink at once into a privacy.

Such was the retirement Sir John was now in. He had however one satisfaction which the world cannot give, neither take away, namely, the testimony of a good conscience. His life had been a life of glory, to his own and his country's honour ; and, though his enemies had taken his preferments from him, he was sure they could lay nothing to his charge, and even were forced to acknowledge his merits. These pleasing reflections are the peculiar happiness of great

and virtuous minds ; and this (the utmost felicity of human nature) he experienced. But the most virtuous and strongest minds habituated to public affairs cannot immediately be reconciled to a private life. The transition is too great to be suddenly effected. Whatever we have been long accustomed to, becoming a habit, is a part of our constitution ; and we may as well pretend to divest ourselves of flesh and blood, as not to have some little struggle with ourselves, to overcome those ideas which have been so long and so deeply impressed ; for this is doing violence to nature. Whatever is strange to us must be disagreeable till it becomes familiar, and that our reason must effect by time. So Sir John was under some disgust at a change so great, so sudden ; but it soon became familiar and easy.

After he had declined his election at Rochester, he wholly devoted himself to privacy. He hardly ever went to London, never to Court. It was a place he had always avoided as much as possible, and now altogether, as he had no business there. He had some years had a country-house at Bedington in Surrey, to which he had used to retire as often as the business of the public would permit. But that some of his acquaintance might more conveniently come to see him, he resolved to have another house nearer London. For this purpose he pitched upon a spot of ground at Greenwich, where he amused himself with building a little box, to reside in now and then for a week or two. But the prospect of the river and the navigation gave him so much pleasure, that he afterwards enlarged it and spent much of his time there. These two houses afforded an agreeable variety, and at both places he was visited by his neighbours, without distinction

of party, being generally esteemed by all for his open, generous, humane disposition. Some few likewise in place, who were under obligations to him, had the gratitude to acknowledge it. But the greatest satisfaction he had in this retreat was the society of his brother-in-law and his family, some of whom were constantly with him, and oftentimes all ; for indeed they seemed but as one family. Sir John would often tell him¹ that he suffered upon his account, advising him to make application to be employed, that he might not lose the benefit of his future pretensions to a flag. But he had too much gratitude and honour, to quit his brother and his friend for any consideration.²

All this while Sir John had a son, Captain Richard Leake, his only child, but unhappily of such a natural bad disposition, that he seems to have been born to afflict him. His grandfather cast his nativity at his birth, and pronounced, he would be very vicious, very fortunate, and very unhappy : that he would get a great deal of money, but squander it all away and die young. Without concerning myself as to the truth or falsehood of astrological prognostics in general, I shall only observe that this prediction was fulfilled. For being made a captain in the navy very young, in a few years he got more by prizes than his father did in his whole life. It was an unhappy circumstance that whilst Sir John was gaining never-fading laurels, his son was countermining his reputation by inglorious actions ; and to finish, the man married disgracefully ; so that his father, now retired from the world

¹ Stephen Martin.

² Cp. *N.R.S.*, v, 139-40.

to pass the remainder of his life in ease and tranquillity, was discomposed by his son's repeated follies; who, by this time, having spent all, depended upon him for support. The consideration of these extravagances, and that his son, if he lived, might squander away all *his* fortune as he had done his own, and even come to want, was the reason that, making his will in February, 1717-18, he devised his estate to trustees for the use of his son during life, and after his death without issue, to Captain Martin and his heirs.

This was an extraordinary instance of Sir John's regard for Captain Martin and his family. But considering all circumstances, it could hardly be otherwise; for besides that they had always had a brotherly affection for each other, a friendship had long subsisted between the two families, which ought to be remembered. Captain Richard Leake, the father of Sir John, having retired to Holland for safety in the Civil War as related in Book I, Chapter i, there met with Captain Stephen Martin (the grandfather of Captain Stephen Martin) who having faithfully served King Charles I and King Charles II as captain of a company during the rebellion, had been obliged to retire to the same place.¹ As fellow sufferers in the same cause they soon became acquainted, and contracted a friendship for each other; and upon the Restoration, returned together to their native country, where soon after Captain Martin died. But the friendship of Captain Leake survived. He con-

¹ On the fly-leaf of the author's copy is the following MS. note, 'A Captain Martin is stated to have offered himself for the Spanish service in 1656 at Dunkirk. See a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne in Evelyn's *Memoirs*, ii, 247 (8vo, v, 330).'

tinued it to his son Thomas Martin, who by his care and instruction, became both a good gunner and a good engineer, and entering into the service of the Artillery, was made captain of a company of matrosses. He distinguished himself in the defence of Tangier in Africa against the Moors (being then in the hands of the English) and was afterwards employed with Captain Leake in the demolition of the town, in the year 1683, when they returned together to England. At the Revolution he went in the army to Ireland, where he had the reputation of a brave officer and a good engineer, and continued there till the year 1690; when being employed to carry on an attack at the siege of Cork, he was disabled by the bursting of a cannon, of which wounds he died about two years after.

The same friendship, that had subsisted between the fathers, was cultivated and improved by the sons. Captain Martin had been recommended to Sir John's care by both the fathers, and was very early his pupil. This was the occasion of his entering into the sea-service. And the desire he had to be with his friend made him reject all other means of promotion; for Sir Clowdisley Shovell had showed a great regard for him at the battle of Bantry Bay (where he had his thigh broke by a cannon-ball on board his ship)¹ and promised to provide for him. But he was no sooner recovered than he went on board the Dartmouth, Captain Leake, whereby he lost several years in his promotion to a command. He was his lieutenant almost all the while he was a Captain, and became still more closely united to him by the marriage of Elizabeth, the

¹ Edgar (64); cp. above, vol. i, p. 22.

sister of Christian Lady Leake.¹ And the only separation afterwards was in the year 1697 when Captain Martin commanded a bomb to Newfoundland²; and in the year 1702, when he had the like command at Cadiz and Vigo.³ In the former of which expeditions he signalised his seamanship, and in the two latter his bravery; for which he was immediately promoted to the command of the Lancaster frigate, in which ship he was cruising in the Channel, when Sir John, being appointed Rear-Admiral of the Blue, made choice of him for his captain. And in this station he continued to the end of the war, the inseparable companion of his fortune. How well he discharged the trust and confidence reposed in him, Sir John himself gave an incontestable proof when he made him his heir.

In the meantime, except [for] the uneasiness his son gave him, Sir John passed his life with great tranquillity, and in perfect health. Only a defluction upon his eyes was sometimes troublesome. But in August, 1719, he had something like an apoplexy, which however went off, without any visible ill consequences. In March following

¹ The daughters and coheirs of Captain Richard Hill of Yarmouth in the county of Norfolk, an eminent seaman, and for that reason much esteemed by the Duke of York (afterwards King James) which was the occasion of his death; for attending that Prince in his voyage to Scotland on board the Gloucester in the year 1682, on Friday the 5th of May, early in the morning, the ship struck upon a sand, called Lemon and Oar (though there was an experienced pilot on board) and was lost, whereby several persons of distinction, some of the Duke's servants, and above 130 seamen were drowned. Captain Hill did indeed escape drowning, being drove ashore upon a grating, but died the next day.—*Author's Note.*

² *Life of Captain Stephen Martin, N.R.S.*, v, pp. 33-41.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-58.

his unhappy son died, at the age of thirty-eight ; and though he had been in a lingering incurable way some time, and his father was prepared for the event, yet he could not help discovering a more than ordinary affliction, and some thought it hastened his own death, which happened a few months after, in the following manner. He had [for] some time had an issue between his shoulders, which had relieved his eyes, but soon after his son's death it dried up. As no immediate ill consequences followed, it was not regarded. But the beginning of August, he found his back troublesome from a pimple in the place where the issue had been. In a few days it grew worse, proved to be a mortification, and there was no remedy but cutting. When he understood what was to be done, he said he was content to die rather by the distemper than the operation, being sure he should not long survive it. But for the satisfaction of his friends he would submit to it cheerfully, as indeed he did, and underwent the operation with the utmost resolution. But all means proving ineffectual, he died on the morning of the 21st of August, 1720, in the 65th year of his age. And the 30th following, his body was carried from thence to the parish Church of Stepney in a manner suitable to the station he had been in,¹ and was deposited

¹ It is interesting to note the criticisms upon his uncle's funeral passed by our author in his capacity as Garter King at Arms. 'This might have been performed with much greater honour . . . by having a ceremonial suitable to Sir John's rank, with the attendance of Heralds. He (Captain Martin) was in the case of most other people upon these occasions, who, being obliged to send presently for an undertaker, are made a property of by them before they have time to consider ; else no man would pay for their troops of black guard only to increase the expense. Order and decency

in a family vault, under a monument, which he had erected some years before upon the death of his wife.¹ Having now brought him to his grave in peace, I proceed (according to custom) to describe his person and character.

Sir John Leake was of a middle stature, well set and strong, a little inclining to corpulency, but not so as to incommode him in the least. His complexion was florid, his countenance open, his eye sharp and piercing, and his address both graceful and manly, denoting both the military man and the gentleman. As he had a good person he had also a good constitution, hardly ever knowing what it was to be sick. And though he took his bottle freely, as was the custom in his time in the fleet, yet he was never disguised, or impaired his health by it. His disposition was naturally cheerful and good-humoured; [he was] free and open, unless before strangers [when] he at first appeared a little

attend regular funerals which are suited by the Heralds to every degree and ensure the honour of having the trophies carried by the king's officers of arms in their proper habits, which then become trophies of honour, and denote as well the right of the deceased to those trophies as that he died a loyal and faithful subject. On the contrary, such trophies being carried in a clandestine manner by mean persons are a disgrace and insinuate that the deceased had no right to have them otherwise borne. No person is qualified to carry a trophy before a deceased who could not have done the same office with reputation to the deceased in his lifetime. No *General* would have a scoundrel to be his *Esquire* or *Armour-bearer*; nor any *Gentleman* call a porter to bear the honour of his family. Wherefore it is not the least privilege to be attended by His Majesty's officers of arms upon these occasions.'—*Life of Captain Stephen Martin*, pp. 143-4.

¹ Lady Leake died at Mile End on 9 December, 1709, in the fifty-third year of her age, and was buried at Stepney.

reserved, but it soon disappeared. He was endowed with very good natural parts, and though he had not what the world calls learning, yet few men expressed themselves more properly, either by writing or speaking. His passions, though strong, were governed by the dictates of right reason, and never betrayed him into any indecencies.¹ He was hot but not passionate, and maintained an even temper, unless excited by some extraordinary cause ; when, nevertheless, he was soon pacified and ready to forgive, no man being more humane. In his dress he was neat and plain, never very fine, being as free from ostentation and vanity in all things, as from pride, which knew him not. In short, as to his person and natural qualities, he was what physicians define a perfect man ; namely, he had a sound mind in a sound body.

Thus formed by nature, he seems to have been born to be a great Admiral. For besides a propensity to a military life and a genius for the sea, he had all the endowments requisite to that end, which he improved by art, and perfected by experience. He was certainly one of the best seamen this island has produced, being perfect master both in theory and practice. His journals, in his own hand-writing, are a proof of it, which he constantly kept, even after he was Admiral of the Fleet, a duty which nowadays captains will not condescend to do. Besides this, he had many other accomplishments, which sea-officers are generally unacquainted with. He understood ship-building, gunnery, fortification, and the discipline of the land-service, wanting only the practice to have made him both a good land-officer and

¹ Into anything unbecoming. Our author writes 'indencies.'

an engineer. And though all these qualifications are not essential to a sea commander, yet they are helps, and served to give him clearer conceptions of some things, than others had who wanted them ; and joined with his long experience, gave him a superior judgment in his profession. He had also a head to contrive, and a heart to execute ; could endure great fatigue, wherein he was patient and indefatigable, neither intimidated by danger nor deterred by difficulties. His courage was of the keener sort, without appearing rash. But having once resolved, he was not to be moved by dangers or difficulties. With this, he enjoyed such a happy presence of mind in all dangers and difficulties, as enabled him to observe everything that passed in time of battle, and to apply the best directions. Which he did at such times with a spirit that gave life to his orders, and therefore had a greater force and better effect than attends the confused commands, usually given upon such occasions. He was particularly careful upon all occasions to distinguish his courage, fearful only of doing any thing that might look like fear ; for he was of opinion, that the bravest man would always carry it, and that a man must resolve to overcome or he will never conquer.

The same spirit appeared likewise in councils of war, where, as he observed, a brave man might as soon be discovered as in battle. For in battle there were many, who, forced by necessity, would fight well enough to save their reputation ; but could they have prevailed in council, had never fought at all, nor ever would undertake a brave action for the sake of glory. This he had reason to observe in the course of his conquests, some of which had never been accomplished, had he not

exerted himself above the rest. It was too often insinuated by some that an undertaking proposed was impracticable, if we had not a great superiority, or there was nothing but honour to be gained by it. But Sir John usually replied, 'Let us make it practicable.' And before he proposed any enterprise, [he] was always well prepared to answer all objections, and even to carry it immediately into execution. This prudent forecast, on which he laid all his undertakings, drew a great deference to his opinion, and made him fortunate in all his designs. And his resolutions, being carried into execution with equal vigour, were attended with that glorious success, which justly gained him the epithet of the 'Brave and Fortunate.'

By these heroic virtues, personal merit and industry, he attained to the highest preferments in the navy, without ambition but not without envy, the inseparable companion of great actions, which made those his enemies (but those only) whom he rivalled in glory. Neither could he possibly have any other enemies, being of that generous disposition, that he was every man's friend. He neither was proud of his own fortune, nor envied that of others. His mind was wholly set to perform the business he was engaged in. He never attempted to undermine or supplant another, but waited patiently, and received thankfully, such preferments and rewards as his royal mistress thought fit to bestow upon him; and in every station he acquitted himself with the greatest fidelity and modesty. Indeed, he had too much of the latter, which made him backward to serve his own friends, and too ready to serve others, that the world might not think him partial. He had a strict regard to his honour, and hated everything that was mean and unbecoming a gentleman.

This made him detest all mercenary views ; and the man who had his own private interest at heart he thought could never faithfully serve his country. Accordingly in his whole life he never pursued an enterprise with the prospect of any bye-end to himself.

These generous and disinterested notions were the occasion of his losing many advantages which were his just due. Such things, as matter of small moment, never dwelt upon his mind. But had he been ambitious or covetous, he might amply have satisfied both. On the contrary, he disregarded both riches and grandeur, as having in themselves no intrinsic excellence. He shunned the honour of knighthood for some time. He refused to be First Commissioner of the Admiralty. He refused to be a peer. He never asked for any grants or other sums from the Crown, as other admirals had done. For to ask a favour for himself, or to deny one to another, was equally disagreeable to him. Neither did he improve the opportunities abroad which fortune had put into his power, as others would have done in his circumstances. What might he not have expected from King Charles, after so many protestations of an acknowledgment, for his eminent services to that Prince. A recompense was a just debt ; yet he was so far from seeking it, that he seems to have shunned all occasions of receiving a reward, which, no doubt, His Majesty intended to do, though he did not do it. And the estate he left at his death is a proof how little he studied his own advantage. These are great instances of his modesty ; and his moderation was known unto all men. What hardships, what difficulties, and even indignities did he bear, that his country might not suffer ; being animated by a true public

spirit, love for his country, and zeal for the common cause ?

By justice and discipline he maintained a good economy in the fleet, without ostentation and without rigour ; his natural temper inclining him to the merciful side. This made him ready to interest himself in the cause, even of an utter stranger, and disposed him to a generous regard of the common sailors, being truly sensible of the hardships they suffered, and the discouragements they lay under : therefore he mitigated them as much as possible. As he was plain in his own dress, so he did not much affect pretty fellows in laced coats, unless their qualifications recommended them. But he loved a brave action wherever he found it, and to such men, without distinction of gentleman or party, he freely dispensed his favours. These are the men that seamen love, and this made him beloved by them.

As to his principles, he was in all things for the happiness and prosperity of England, in Church and State, as by law established, as every good subject must be. He served King James as far as was consistent with this principle ; and upon the same principle he served King William and Queen Mary, and Queen Anne, bravely and faithfully. And as he had been engaged all his life in the cause of the Protestant religion and English liberty, so no man could be more sensible of the benefits to this nation by the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover. At the same time he retained a dutiful and grateful regard to the memory of Queen Anne, as the best of women, the best of queens, and the best of mistresses.

When removed from all his employments, and in retirement, he maintained his character

with an equal mind; neither resenting his own fortune, nor envying that of others: but with a tranquillity [in which] few men can retreat from a public station, having no uneasy reflections, nor any after-reckoning to fear. On the contrary, being conscious of a life spent for the public good, he had those pleasing reflections, which the world cannot give nor take away.

In private life he was no less amiable. No man was a better husband, a better father, or a more sincere friend; in conversation open and affable, and never happier than in his family, and amongst his particular acquaintance. His good nature and generosity showed itself to all about him, or that had any concerns with him; for he took pleasure in serving others. Few men were freer from all manner of vice. Even that of swearing, so generally practised amongst sea-commanders in his time, he was rarely guilty of. And to crown all, he was not only morally, but christianly virtuous. He had a just sense of religion, and was a worthy member of the Church of England, without bigotry or superstition. He caused Divine worship to be duly observed, and countenanced it by his own example. He frequently communicated, and I have reason to believe he used private prayers, having found such amongst his papers, in his own hand-writing, adapted to the different circumstances of his life. And his religion was not faith without works. For besides his general beneficence to all mankind, he did many particular acts of charity very privately. To sum up all, he was a virtuous, humane, generous, gallant man, and one of the greatest Admirals of his time, as his actions demonstrate. And one thing can be said of him, which can be said of no other Admiral;

namely, that he never betrayed one mistake, or had his conduct censured. And his death did not dishonour his life. Thus faithful to the end, he has left an example to those that come after, both as a virtuous man and a great Admiral.

By his will, all his estate, both real and personal (except some few legacies) came to his brother-in-law, Captain Stephen Martin,¹ who, in consideration thereof, obtained His Majesty's warrant under his signal and sign manual, to assume the name and bear the arms² of Leake, together with his own, to continue a memorial of the said Sir John Leake for ever: *To whose memory I have likewise added this monument of my respect and gratitude.*

The following epitaph was likewise intended to his memory :—

IMMORTALI MEMORIÆ SACRUM.
SUB MONUMENTO
AD AUSTRALEM CŒMETERII
CIRCUMJACENTIS PARTEM ERECTO REQUIESCIT,
MULTIS NAVALIBUS EXPEDITIONIBUS
CONFECTIS PORTUM TUTISSIMUM NACTUS,
IOHANNES LEAKE, EQVES,
RICHARDI LEAKE TORMENTARIIS PRÆPOSITI FILIUS :

¹ Captain Stephen Martin invested the money left to him by Sir John in South Sea stock and suffered ruinous losses. He was not more fortunate with the diamond ring presented to his brother-in-law by the Lord High Admiral: for he dropped it in the kennel as he was entering a coach in Paternoster Row and never saw it again.

² Sir John's Coat was as follows, *Or, upon a saltire engrailed azure, eight annulets argent; in a canton gules, a castle triple towered of the third; and for the crest, on a wreath of the colours, a ship carriage and thereon a piece of ordnance mounted, all proper.*

PER VARIOS OFFICIORUM SUMMA SEMPER CUM LAUDE
 ADMINISTRATORUM GRADUS
 PRIMARIA MARITIMÆ PRÆFECTURÆ MUNERA
 SUIS MERITIS ET OPTIMORUM PRINCIPUM GRATIA
 CONSECUTUS.

EX PLURIMIS, QUÆ PRO PATRIÂ GESSIT,
 PAUCA HÆC EGREGIA, LECTOR, ACCIPE;
 MEMOR, NON HISTORIAM SCRIBI, SED EPITAPHIUM.
 SUB REGE GULIELMO,
 LONDINO-DERRIÆ PERICLITANTI SUPPETIAS
 TULIT :

SUB ANNA REGINÂ,
 GALLORUM IN ORBE NOVO COLONIAS,
 NAVIUM HOSTILIUM PARTIM CAPTIS PARTIM EXUSTIS,
 DELEVIT :

CALPEN ET BARCINONEM
 A GALLIS ET HISPANIS OBSESSAS,
 ILLAM BIS, HANC PRIDIE QUAM ERAT EXPUGNANDA,
 REGEMQUE CAROLUM (NUNC IMPERATOREM)
 IN HAC CLAUSUM, LIBERAVIT :

URBES, CARTHAGENAM ET ALONEM;
 INSULAS, MAJORCAM, MINORCAM, SARDI-
 NIAM ET IVICAM,

AD DEDITIONEM COMPULIT.
 TOT DENIQUE TANTISQUE LABORIBUS IN COMMUNE
 BONUM SUSCEPTIS PERFUNCTUS ;

EXEMPLO VIRTUTIS ET FIDEI RARÆ ILLIS,
 QUI IN EOSDEM LABORES SUCCEDERENT, PROPOSITO ;
 VITAM PUBLICAM ET NEGOTIOSAM PRIVATÂ ET
 TRANQUILLIORE MUTAVIT :

CÚMQUE VIVIDAM USQUE SENECTUTEM IN IIS
 OMNIBUS, QUÆ PIUM PROBÚMQUE CIVEM, AFFINEM,
 AMICUM DECENT,

OFFICIIS EXERCUISSET ;
 CHRISTINÆ CONJUGI PROLIQUE EX EÂ SUSCEPTÆ
 SUPERSTES,
 IPSE TANDEM, QUOD HABUIT MORTALE, EXUIT ;

ANNO CHRISTI, 1720, 21 AUGUST ÆTATIS 64°.
 SUPREMIS TABULIS SUARUM FACULTATUM
 NOMINISQUE HÆREDEM SCRIPSIT
 STEPHANUM MARTIN-LEAKE ARMIGERUM,
 IPSI CUM AFFINITATE (NAM DUAS SORORES
 DUXERANT)
 TUM FAMILIARI CONSUETUDINE (NAM IISDEM SÆPE
 DISCRIMINIBUS INTERFUERANT)
 CONJUNCTISSIMUM :
 QUI EGREGIÆ VIRI OPTIMI MEMORIÆ GRATUS
 HOC MARMOR POSUIT.
 SIC CÆLUM PETITUR.¹

FINIS.

¹ After reading the above one is reminded of the Round Robin that Sheridan, Sir Joshua Reynolds and others presented to Dr. Samuel Johnson concerning his Latin epitaph on Oliver Goldsmith. 'If we might venture to express our wishes, they would lead us to request that he would write the epitaph in English rather than in Latin.' To this Johnson replied that he would alter the sense as his critics pleased; but he would never consent to disgrace the walls of Westminster Abbey with an English inscription. At another time, when somebody endeavoured to argue the point, the doctor retorted, 'Consider, sir, how you should feel, were you to find at Rotterdam an epitaph upon Erasmus in *Dutch*!'

There is an annihilating force in such logic. And yet for all that, we may well believe that Sir John Leake would have shared the sentiments of another famous seaman, Commodore Trunnion. 'As for the motto or what you call it, I leave that to you and Mr. Jolter who are scholars. But I do desire that it may not be engraved in the Greek or Latin *lingos* . . . but in plain English; that, when the Angel comes to pipe all hands at the great day, he may know that I am a British man and speak to me in my mother tongue.'

At the risk, therefore, of spoiling the ornate dignity of the original, I append a rough translation in plain English.

'Sacred to the immortal memory of John Leake, Knight, son of Richard Leake, Master-Gunner of England, who completed many naval enterprises and rose through several

grades of offices (always administering them with the greatest credit) until through his own deserts and the favour of Princes he achieved the very highest naval rank, and, entering into a safer haven, rests beneath a monument erected in the southern quarter of the surrounding cemetery.

Of the many deeds which he performed for his country, learn, thou that readest, these few surpassing others; and bear in mind that it is not a history that is written but an epitaph.

Under King William he relieved the hard-pressed town of Londonderry.

Under Queen Anne he destroyed the colonies of the French in the New World, capturing some of the enemy's ships and burning others. He delivered Gibraltar and Barcelona beset by French and Spaniards, the former twice, the latter along with King Charles (now Emperor but then a prisoner there) on the day before the place was to have been carried by storm. The cities of Carthagena and Alicante, and the islands of Majorca, Minorca, Sardinia and Iviza he forced to capitulate.

Finally, having undertaken and successfully performed for the public weal so many labours of such vast import, and having set for his successors in the like toils a pattern of rare valour and loyalty, he exchanged his busy public career for a private life of greater tranquillity, and passing an ever vigorous old age in the exercise of all those duties that befit the upright citizen and the affectionate kinsman and friend, he survived his wife Christian and his issue by her, and at length put off his mortal part on 21st of August in the 1720th year of Our Lord and in the sixty-fourth of his age.

By his last will he made heir to his property and name Stephen Martin-Leake, Esquire, who was very closely connected with him by kinship (for they had married sisters) and by intimate association (for they had often shared the same dangers). The latter in gratitude set up this marble to the noble memory of a most excellent man.

Thus a course is plotted for the port of Heaven.'



APPENDIX

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LEAKE, Rear-Admiral of England, Sir John :

1656. Born at Rotherhithe, (I) xv, 11

1673 (10th August). As midshipman (?) receives baptism of fire at the battle of the Texel, (I) xvi, 6-8, 11

1674. At the Peace of Westminster (end of Dutch Wars) transfers to the Merchant Service, (I) xvi, 11

1677. Returns to R.N., and succeeds his father as Gunner of the Neptune, (I) xvi-xvii, 11

1688 (24th September). Receives command of the first bomb-ketch or mortar-boat, Firedrake, (I) xvii, 12, 18-19

1689 (1st May). Distinguishes himself at the battle of Bantry Bay, (I) xvii, 21-3

(3rd May). Made post into the Dartmouth, (I) xvii, 23

(28th July). And relieves Londonderry, (I) xvii-xviii, 25-31

1690. As captain of Oxford accompanies Killigrew to the Mediterranean, (I) xviii, 32-5

And during land-panic consequent upon the defeat of Beachy Head is commissioned to superintend the fortification of Plymouth, (I) 35

(21st September). At the siege of Cork, (I) 36

(December.) Sits as member of Court Martial on Admiral Torrington and works hard to secure the Earl's acquittal, (I) xviii, 36

1691 (16th March). As captain of the Eagle receives a visit from Prince George of Denmark, L.H.A., (I) 43
And serves in the Grand Fleet under Russell, (I) xviii, 43-5

1692 (19th May). Distinguishes himself at the battle of Barfleur, (I) xix, xlix, 46-52

(23rd-24th May). Flag-Captain to Rooke at the battle of La Hogue, (I) xix, 52-3

1693. Transferred from the Eagle to the Plymouth and cruises in the Channel, (I) 57

(March). Subsequently joining the Grand Fleet under the joint command of Killigrew, Delavall, and Shovell, (I) xix, 60-1

Receives command of the Ossory (90), (I) 61; and

1694-1695. Accompanies Russell to the Mediterranean, (I) xix, 62-5

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1696. Disinherited by his father, (I) 69
 Declines the appointment of Master Gunner of
 England, (I) xix, xlv, 70-1
- 1697 (October). Peace of Ryswick, (I) xix, 67
- 1699 (5th May) to 1700 (22nd February). As captain of the
 Kent engaged upon Channel services, (I) 73
- 1700-1701. Out of commission, (I) 74
- 1701 (28th February) to 1702 (19th January). As captain
 of the Berwick engaged upon Channel services,
 (I) 74-5
- 1702 (22nd January). Appointed First Captain to the Earl of
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 (July). Commodore with broad pendant in the *Exeter*,
 (I) xx, 91
 (July-October). Proceeds to Newfoundland and destroys
 the French settlements and fisheries, (I) xx, cxi-
 cxliii, 91-104
 Declines a knighthood, (I) xx, xlv, 105
 (10th December). Rear-Admiral of the Blue, (I) xx,
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- 1703 (January). Commander-in-Chief at Portsmouth, (I) xx,
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 (1st March) Vice-Admiral of the Blue, (I) xx, 109
 With flag in the *Prince George* carries reinforcements
 to Shovell, Commander-in-Chief in the Mediter-
 ranean, (I) xx-xxi, 119-20
 (27th November). Rides out the 'Great Storm,' the
 only ship in the Downs to do so, (I) xxi,
 126-30
 (Dec.). Sits on a commission to enquire into the
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- 1704 (February). Knighted, (I) xxii, xlv, 135
 (February). Follows Rooke with reinforcements to
 Lisbon, (I) xxii, 138
 Is said by some to have proposed the attack on
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 (23rd July). Assists in the capture of the fortress,
 (I) xxii, 153-6
 (13th August). Plays a distinguished part in the battle
 of Malaga, (I) xxii, 158-81
 Where he is wounded, (I) 169
 Left in charge of a squadron for the protection of
 Gibraltar, (I) xv, xxii, 182

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1704. Refits at Lisbon in the face of considerable difficulty,
 (I) xxvii, 185-99
 (25th October). Destroys the French flotilla in Gibraltar Bay, (I) xxvii-xxix, 199-200
 Relieves the necessities of the Rock and its garrison,
 (I) xxix, 202-19
 And by blockading Cadiz covers the conveyance of reinforcements thereto, (I) xxix-xxxii, 221-9
 Returning to Lisbon is much hampered in his work by Dutch and Portuguese, (I) xxxii, 230-57
 But receives additional ships from home under Admiral Dilkes, (I) 257
 And is promoted to be Vice-Admiral of the White,
 (I) 257
- 1705 (10th March). Annihilates Admiral de Pointis' fleet at the battle of Marbella, (I) xxxiii-xxxv, 259-62
 And, relieving Gibraltar a second time, compels the armies of France and Spain to raise the siege,
 (I) xxxiv, 263-72
 Returning to Lisbon, he is joined by the main fleet from England under the joint command of Peterborough and Shovell, (I) 273-8
 And, re-hoisting his flag in the Prince George, sails with them to the Mediterranean, (I) 278-9
 (3rd October). Distinguishes himself at the capture of Barcelona, (I) xxxv-xxxvii, lxxxiii, 280-95
 And is left in charge of a squadron for the protection of the city and the Allied Candidate to the throne of Spain, (I) xxxvii, xc, 295
- 1706 (16th January). He arrives at Lisbon to re-equip after a passage memorable for foulness of weather and exceptional privations, (I) xc-xci, 295-306
 Plans the destruction of galleons in Cadiz Bay, but is frustrated in his design by the machinations of so-called friends, (I) xci-xcii, 306-31
 Receives news of Barcelona's peril, (I) xcii; (II) 1-8
 And ignoring Peterborough's viceregal injunctions, (I) xciii-xciv; (II) 8-22
 Joins hands with Admiral Sir George Byng, (I) xciii; (II) 17

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1706. Speeds to the rescue of the doomed city and its royal inmate, (I) xciv ; (II) 23
 (30th April). And relieves it in the hour of its extremity, (I) xxxviii, civ-cv ; (II) 25
 Schemes to burn, sink, and destroy Toulouse's fleet, (I) ciii-civ
 And, by scattering it to the four winds, compels the armies of France and Spain to fly in panic from Barcelona, (I) xxxviii-xxxix ; (II) 26-9
 Endures in silence when Peterborough boards the Prince George and hoists his flag there, (I) xcvi-ciii ; (II) 23-4, 30-42
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 (July). Captures Alicante, (I) xxxix, cxv ; (II) 72-117
 (September). Captures Iviza, (I) xl ; (II) 126-30
 (September). Captures Majorca, (I) xl ; (II) 130-8
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 (October). Returns to England on leave, (I) xl ; (II) 144
 And meets a flattering reception, (I) xl ; (II) 145-7
 1707. Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet, (II) 148-155
 And presides at the Court Martial on Sir Thomas Hardy, (II) 155-9
 1708 (8th January). Owing to Shovell's death is promoted to be Admiral of the White, (I) xli ; (II) 167
 (15th January). Appointed Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean with power to fly the Union Flag, (I) xli, cxxxi ; (II) 167-75
 Met by foul weather at his setting out, he harnesses the contrary winds with reinforcements for Sir George Byng, who thus frustrates the first Jacobite invasion, (I) xli ; (II) 182-8
 (11th May). Captures a fleet of French victuallers, and reprovisions Barcelona in the hour of its need, (I) xli ; (II) 209-12
 Received by ' Charles III ' with almost royal honours, (I) xli ; (II) 214-15
 Escorts the King's bride from Italy, (II) 220-50
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- 1708 (September). Captures Sardinia, (I) xli, cxxxi; (II) 251-70
 Arranges for punitive measures against the Pope, (I) cxxxii; (II) 227-9, 271-2
 (September). Crowns his career by the conquest of Minorca, (I) xli, cxxiii-cxxviii, cxxxi-cxxxvi; (II) 271-304
 (October). And returns to England, (I) xlii; (II) 304-6
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 (November). On the death of the Lord High Admiral appointed one of the Commissioners for executing the office, (I) xlii; (II) 341
 1710. And though declining title and emoluments, acts as virtual First Lord, (I) xlv; (II) 344-5
 1711. Again Commander-in-Chief in the Channel, (II) 353-69
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 1712 (July). Occupies Dunkirk, (I) xlii; (II) 374-92
 1714. Answerable for the lion's share of British acquisitions at the Peace of Utrecht, (I) cxliii
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PETERBOROUGH

PETERBOROUGH, Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of :

- 1658. Born, (I) lxvi-lxvii
Educated at Eton (?) and Christ Church College,
Oxford, (I) lxvii
- 1674 (November). Goes to sea as Volunteer (= midshipman)
on board the Cambridge (Captain Arthur Herbert,
his uncle), (I) lxvii
- 1675. Succeeds his father as Viscount Mordaunt, (I) lxvii
- 1675-80. Continues to serve as volunteer in R.N., though
intermittently, (I) lxvii
- 1680. Abandoning the sea service, he plunges into politics
and joins the Whigs under Shaftesbury, (I) lxvii
- 1683 (May). Suspected of complicity in the Rye House
Plot, (I) lxvii
- 1685. On accession of James II joins the Prince of Orange,
(I) lxviii
Is said to have persuaded William to adopt the
English enterprise, (I) lxviii
- 1688. And in the Bloodless Revolution plays a notable
part, (I) lxviii
- 1689. For which he is created Earl of Monmouth, (I)
lxviii
- 1690. During William's Irish campaign he is left as one
of Mary's political advisers, (I) lxviii
And offers to relieve his uncle, the Earl of Torrington,
in command of the Main Fleet, (I) lxix
Distrusted by the Queen and suspected of betraying
secrets to the enemy, (I) lxix
- 1692 (December). Forfeits William's regard by criticising the
conduct of the war, (I) lxix
- 1693 (February). And is dismissed, (I) lxix
- 1695 (April). Restored to favour, (I) lxix, lxxii
- 1696. Implicated in the Fenwick scandals and imprisoned
in the Tower, (I) lxxii
- 1697 (30th March). Released, (I) lxxii
- 1698 (19th January). Succeeds his uncle as Earl of Peter-
borough, (I) lxxii
- 1701-2. Translates Demosthenes, (I) lxxiii
- 1702. And at the accession of Anne restored to favour,
(I) lxxiii
- 1705 (March-May). Appointed Commander-in-Chief of
military and naval forces designed for Spain,
(I) l, lxxiv, 273-4
(9th June.) Arrives at Lisbon, (I) 277

PETERBOROUGH

1705. Favours an advance on Madrid from Valencia, but fails to impose his will on his council of war, (I) lx-lxiii, lxxvi
 (August.) Allows the expedition to attempt Barcelona, (I) lxxvii
 Though himself stoutly opposed to the undertaking, (I) lxxviii, 282
 (1st September.) Finding the navy unwilling to countenance alternative schemes elsewhere, he consents to an attack on Montjuich, (I) lxxx-lxxxi, 283-8
 (2nd-3rd September.) Which is successful, largely through his own leadership, (I) lxxxi-lxxxii, 288-90
 (28th September.) The naval men mount guns on Montjuich and force Barcelona to surrender, (I) lxxxii-lxxxv, 290-3
 Whereupon Peterborough claims the whole credit for the capture of the town, (I) lxxxv
 Leaving the ' King of Spain ' installed at Barcelona, Peterborough swashbuckles through Eastern Spain, (I) lxxxvi-lxxxix
- 1706 (January). Enters Valencia, (I) lxxxix
 Where he keeps high holiday, (I) lxxxix
 And when the French legions close round Barcelona, advises the King to escape in a boat, (I) xciv-xcvi
 Orders Leake from Lisbon to come at his bidding, (I) xciii, xcvi; (II) 3, 8-9, 12-14, 15-16
 (27th April.) And finding his mandates ignored, takes to the sea at Sitges and insolently hoists his flag in Leake's flagship, (I) xcvi-ciii; (II) 21-3, 30
 Is forestalled in his effort to come first to the relief of Barcelona by a flying squadron, under Byng, sent by Leake on ahead, (I) ciii-cv, 23, 33
 Nevertheless, claims the whole credit for the deliverance, and supports his claim by baseless insinuations against the Admiral, (I) cv-cx; (II) 30-40, 111-14
 (24th May.) Returns to his merry-making at Valencia, (I) cx-cxi; (II) 45, 47-8
 (26th July.) Which he unwillingly abandons on an urgent summons to join Galway in Madrid, (I) cxiii-cxiv; (II) 120-1
 In council at Guadalaxara offers to command all the allied forces in person, and being rejected returns

PETERBOROUGH

- to the province of Valencia, intending to take Alicante, (I) cxiv ; (II) 122
- 1706 Only to find that the town has yielded to the navy in his absence, (I) cxiv-cxv ; (II) 101-17
(10th September.) Sails for Genoa, where he negotiates an unauthorised loan at an exorbitant rate of interest, (I) cxv ; (II) 127-8
(December). And returning to Valencia, (I) cxv
- 1707 (11th February). Receives an urgent message summoning him home, (I) cxv
(March-August). Pleases his vanity by a circular tour through central Europe, (I) cxvi-cxvii
(20th August). And arriving in England narrowly escapes a public trial for his misdeeds, (I) cxvii
Commissions Dr. Freind to write an apologia, (I) cxvii ; (II) 348
- 1708 (January). And has his conduct examined by the House of Lords, (I) cxvii ; (II) 347
- 1710 (November). On the change of ministry he is used as a puppet, and political panegyrics are framed in his praise to discredit the Duke of Marlborough, (I) cxviii-cxix ; (II) 347
- 1711 (February). The thanks of Parliament may be therefore interpreted merely as the index of factious rancour, (I) cxviii ; (II) 347-50
- 1711-14. Conducts more circular tours in central Europe, (I) cxix ; (II) 348
1714. But is dismissed at the accession of George I and driven into private life, (I) cxix
1735. Undergoes an operation ; and, on 25th October, dies, (I) cxx

A man of remarkable versatility, (I) lxix-lxxii, lxxxii
But primarily a statesman or politician, (I) lxxiii
Of a Machiavellian type, (I) lxvii, lxviii, lxix, lxxv, lxxxii, lxxxv

Unscrupulous, (I) xcvi-cx, cvi-cx

Egotistical, (I) lxviii, c, cv

And caring for no interests but his own, (I) cxiii

He presents a striking contrast to Leake, (I) cxii-cxiii

The fame of whose exploits he nefariously purloined, (I) cxxi-cxxii

His nomination to high office in Spain was of a political nature, (I) lxxiv-lxxv, lxxviii-lxxx

And as such was a notorious failure, (I) lxxxvi, cxv

PETERBOROUGH

But the ignorance still shown by his countrymen in all that appertains to maritime affairs enabled him to build for himself a reputation, (I) vii-ix, l-li, cxviii

Which has deceived alike professed historians and professional soldiers, (I) li-lix, lxiii-lxv, cxx-cxxiii

An excellent judge of literary merit, he figured to the Augustans as a second Mæcenas, (I) lxx

And drew from them a pæan of homage for qualities which he did not possess, (I) lxxi

His vainglorious boastings did not deceive his contemporaries, (I) lxix, lxxi-lxxii, cxvii

But the less scrupulous of them adroitly utilised his imaginary exploits as a means of belittling Marlborough's majesty, (I) cxviii-cxix, cxx; (II) 350-2

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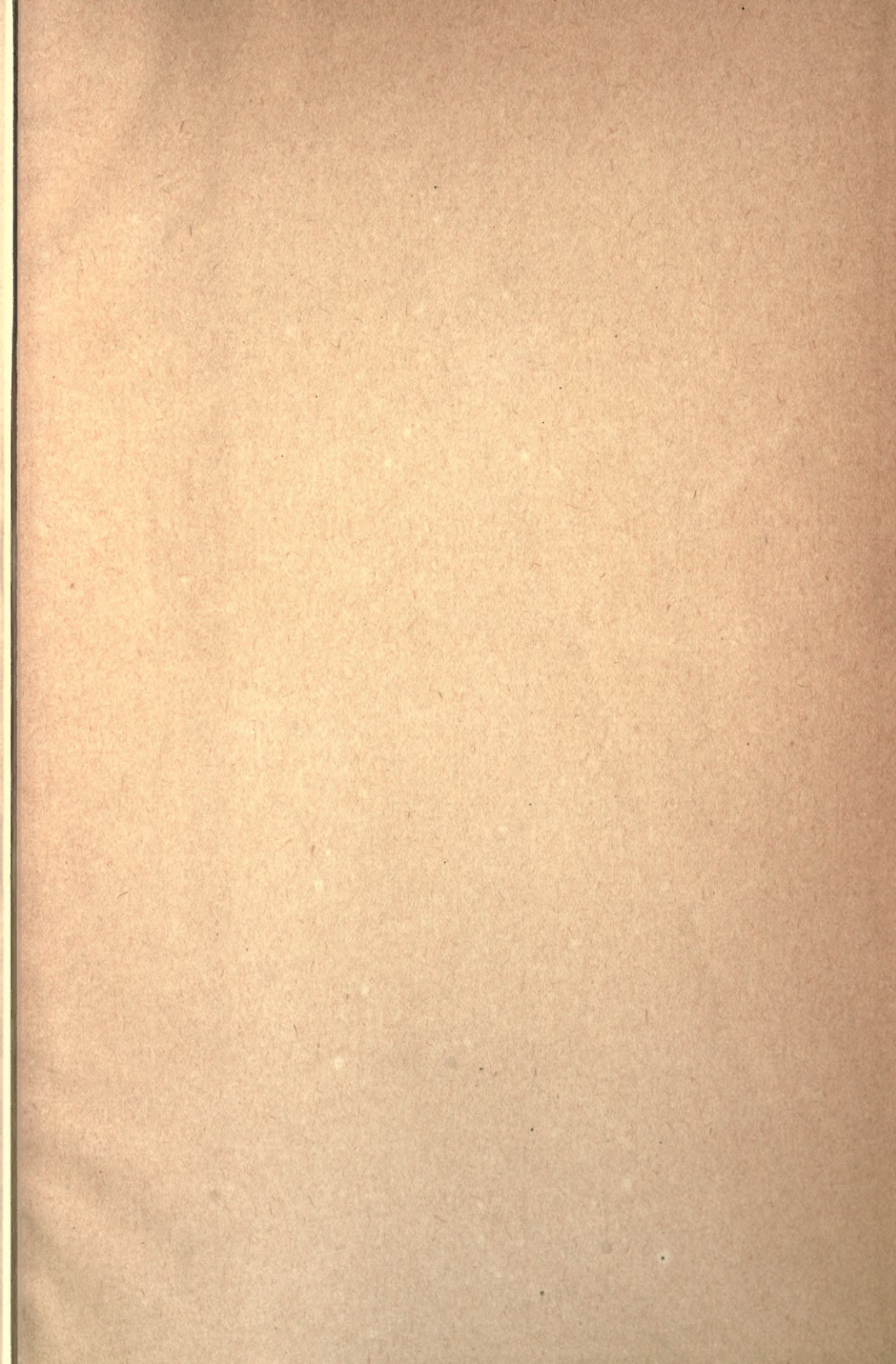
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